Is the U.S. Headed for Another Civil War?

INTERNATIONAL
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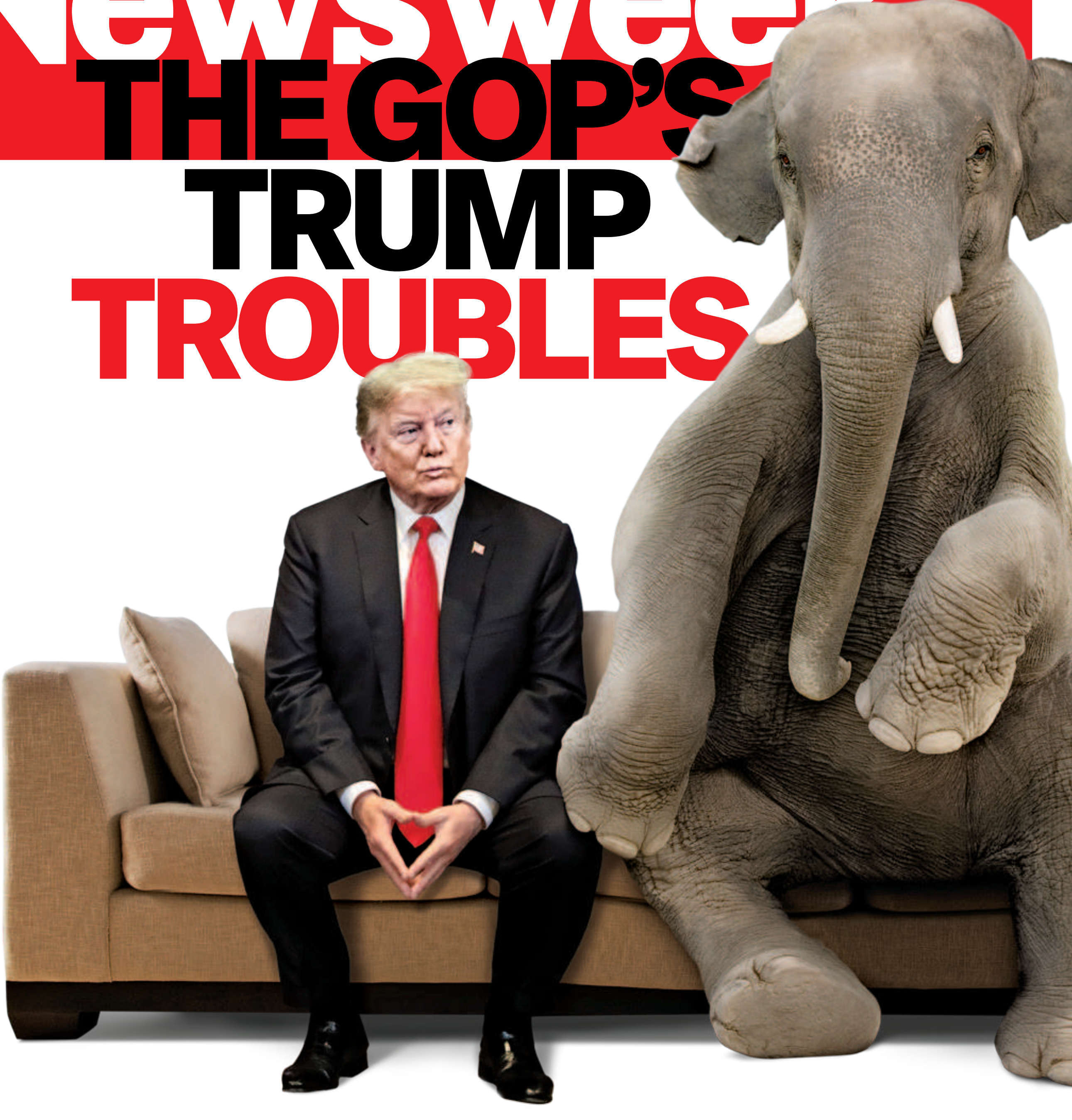
THE GOP'S TRUMP TROUBLES



Mainstream Republicans worry the former president's focus on "the steal" could hurt the party in the midterms—and 2024

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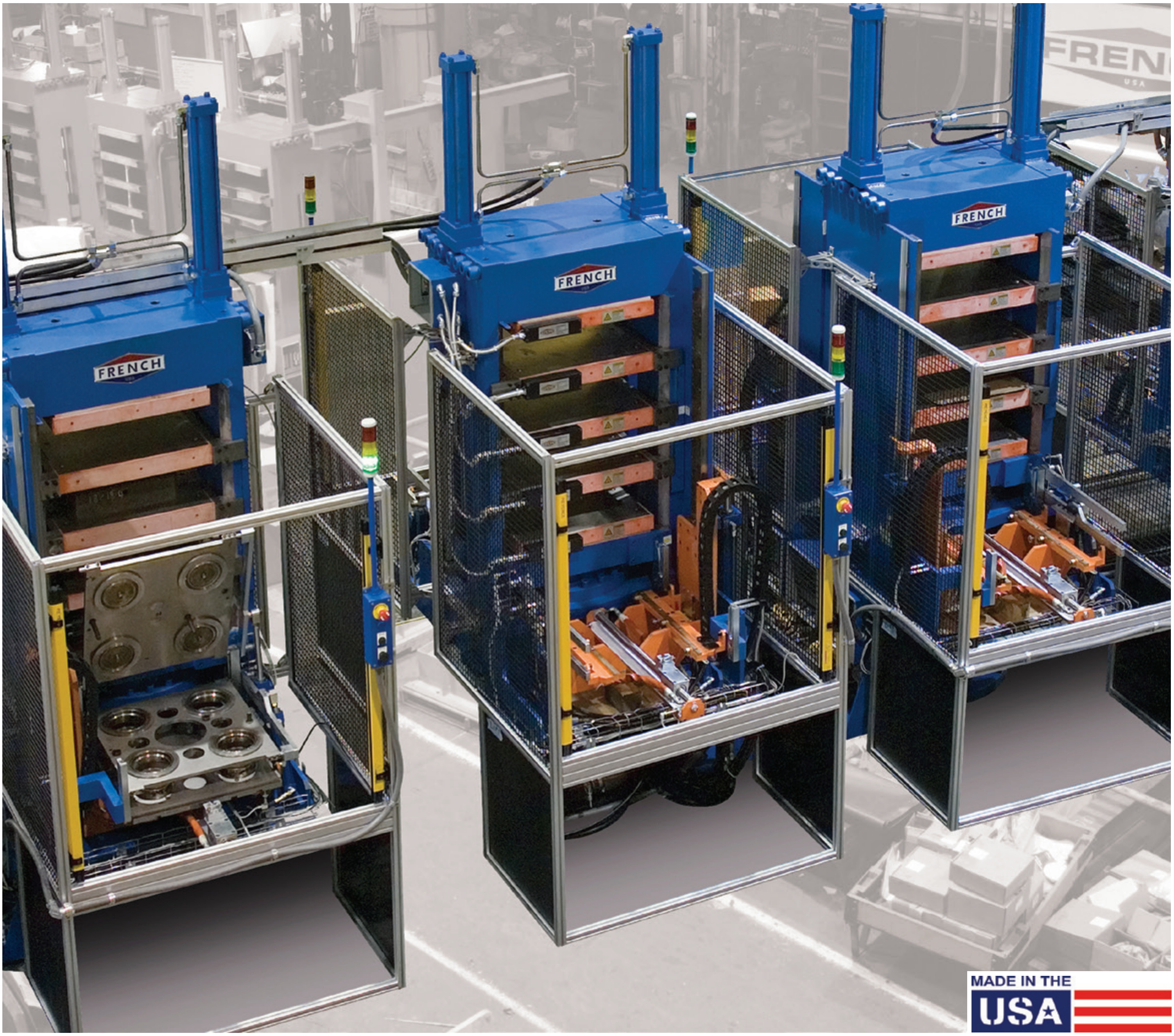

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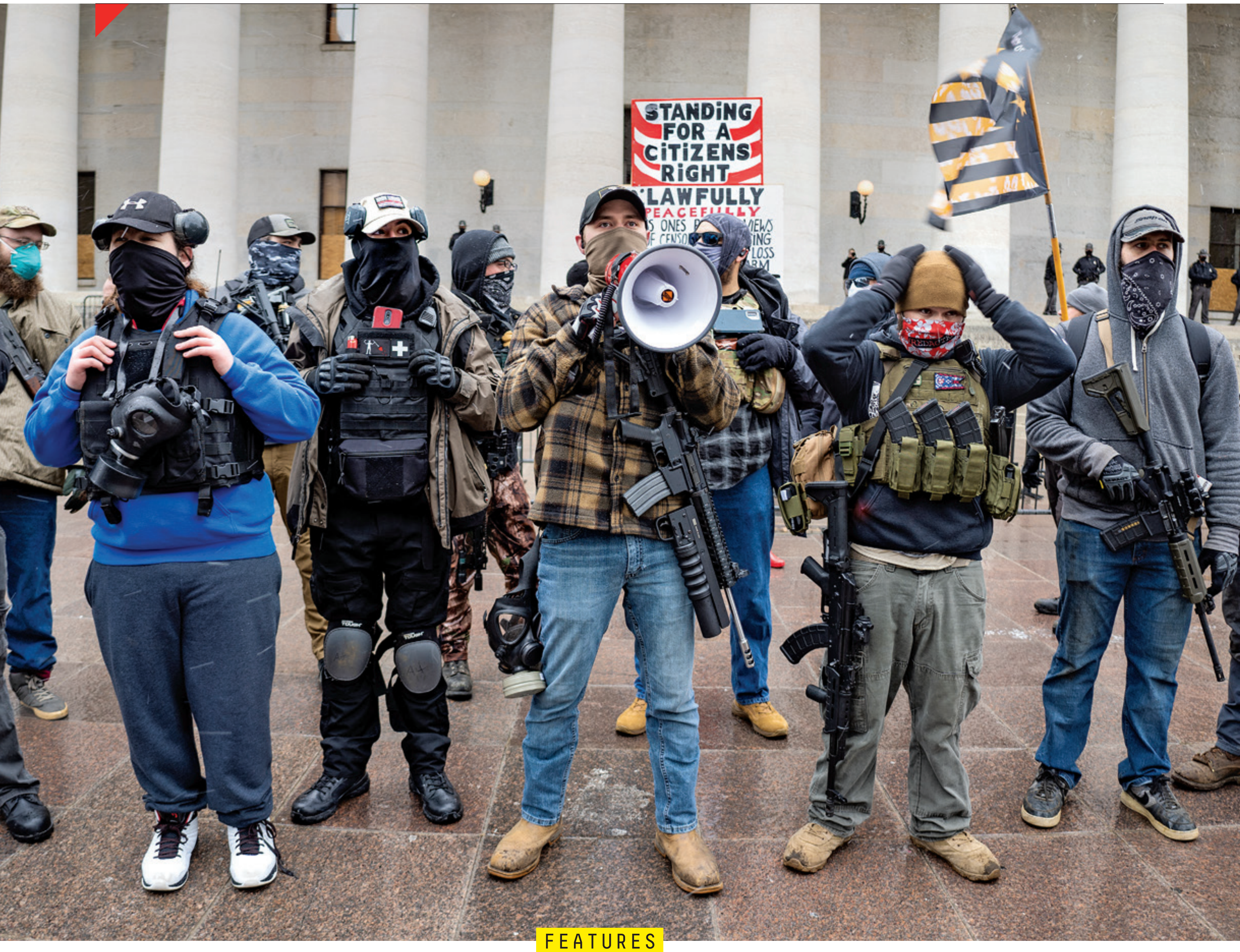
STANDING FOR A CITIZENS RIGHT
LAWFULLY
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FEATURES

GUNS BLAZING
The Boogaloo Boys speak during an armed protest at the Ohio statehouse in Columbus ahead of the inauguration of President-elect Joe Biden in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic on January 17.

JASON WHITMAN/GETTY

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It's Complicated

Trump's GOP support is strong. But mainstream Republicans worry his focus on "the steal" could hurt the party in the midterms—and 2024.

BY BILL POWELL

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The Armed Uprising of 2024

More and more radicalized Republicans are willing to grab their guns if the next presidential election doesn't go their way.

BY DAVID H. FREEDMAN

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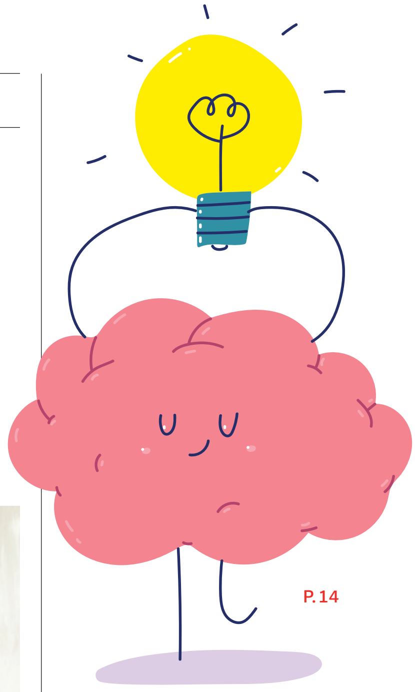
Los Angeles Hot Van Gogh

SCREAM AGAIN
"This is still a great ride. It's a way to get away for two hours and just laugh and be scared, which I think we're all looking for right now."



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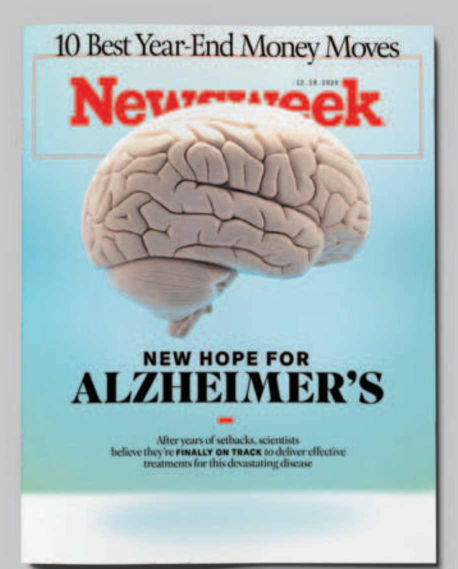
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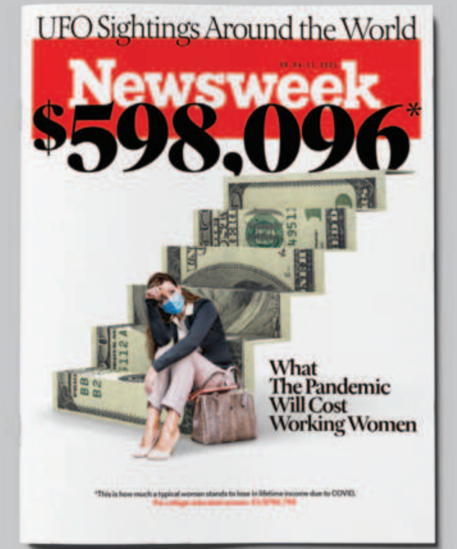
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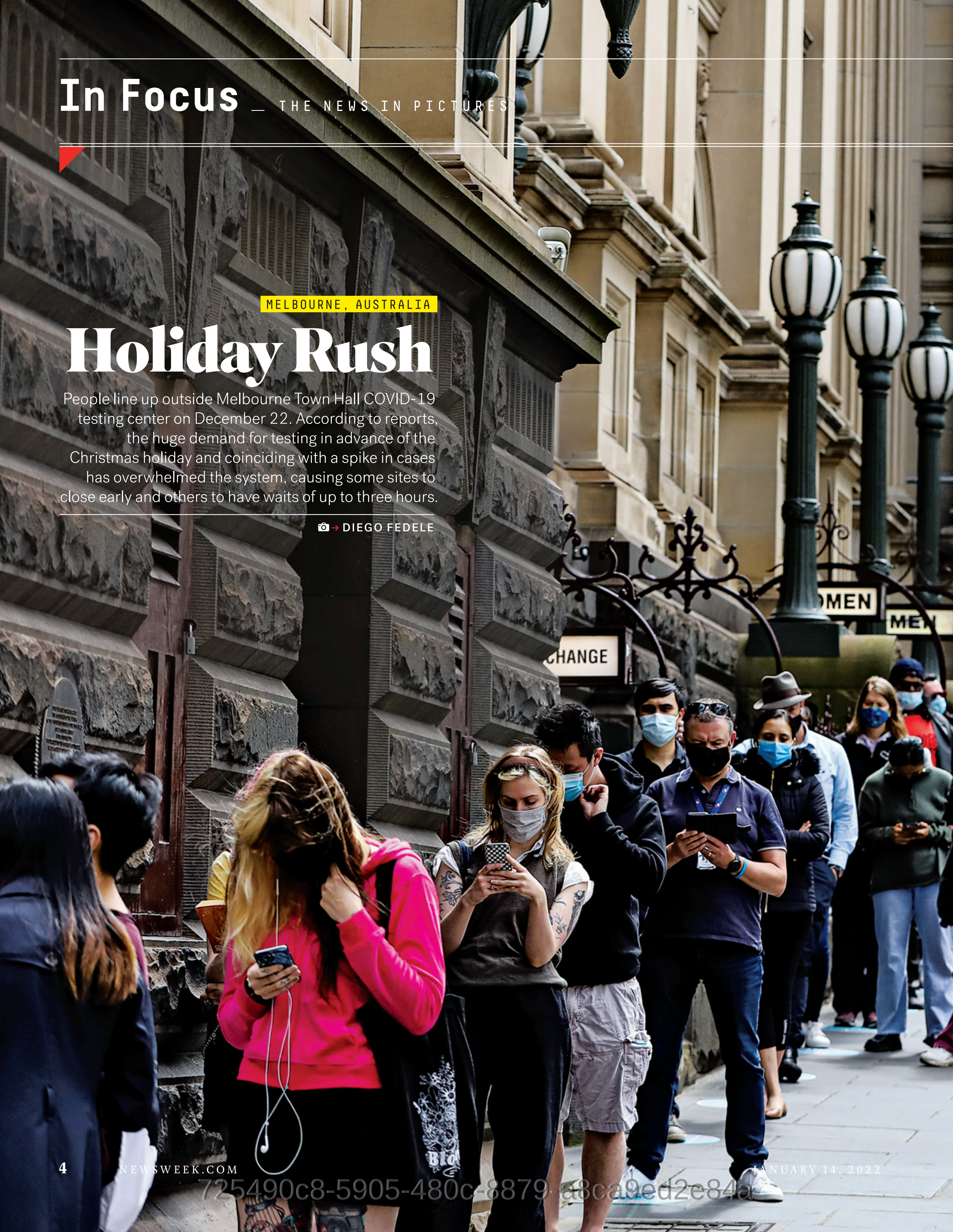

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA

Holiday Rush

People line up outside Melbourne Town Hall COVID-19 testing center on December 22. According to reports, the huge demand for testing in advance of the Christmas holiday and coinciding with a spike in cases has overwhelmed the system, causing some sites to close early and others to have waits of up to three hours.

→ DIEGO FEDELE

COVID-19
TESTING
10AM - 6PM
Data Signs
Data Signs
MELBOURNE TOWN HALL 1910

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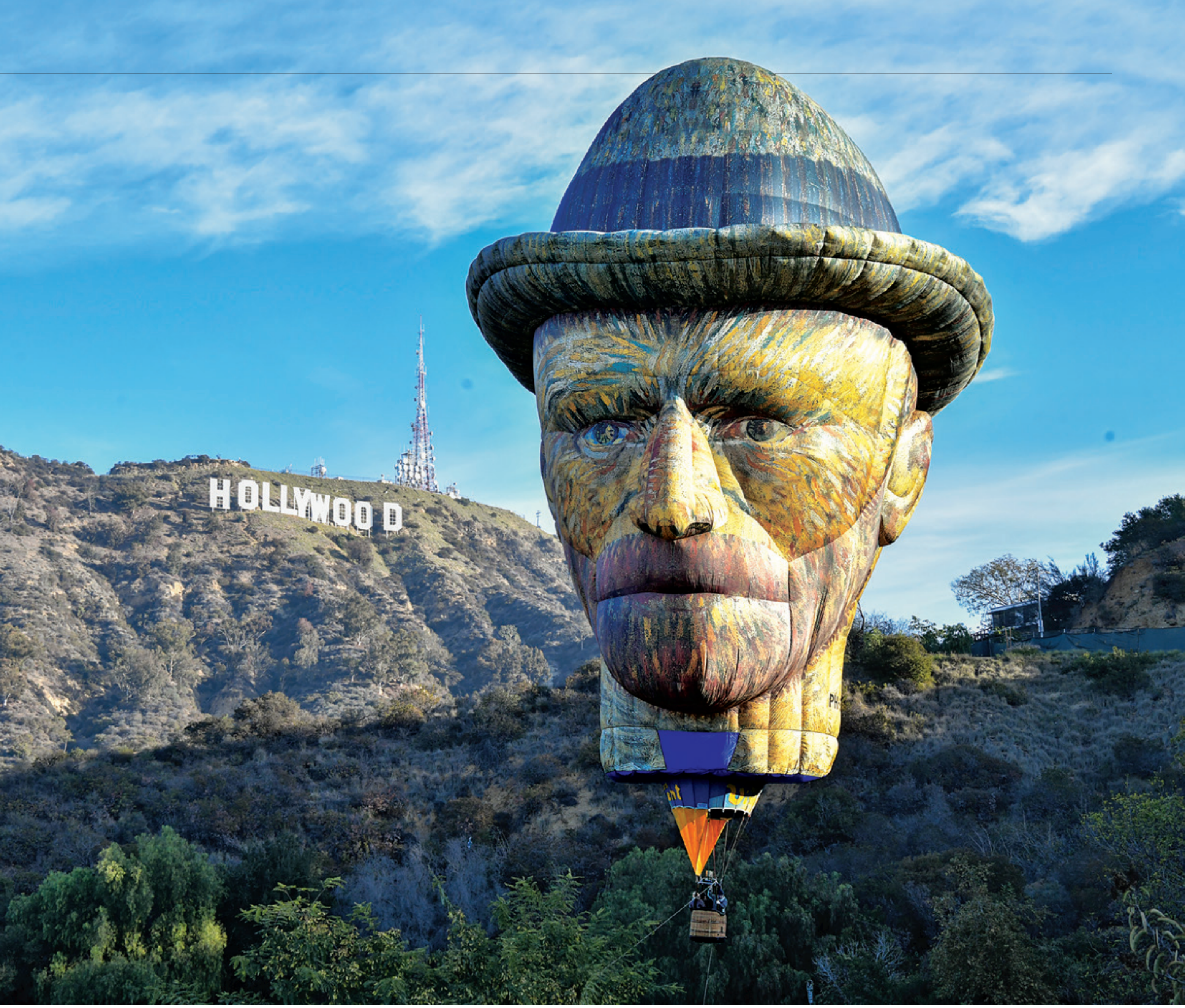

ORLANDO, FLORIDA

Tiger & Son

Tiger Woods and his son, 12-year-old Charlie, look on during the Pro-Am ahead of the PNC Championship on December 17. Team Woods finished second at the PNC parent-child event behind John Daly and his son, John Daly II. This was Woods' first professional appearance after a serious car crash on February 23.

📷 → DOUGLAS P. DEFELICE

INUYAMA, JAPAN

Fired Up

Japanese Yaku macaque monkeys warm up at the Japan Monkey Center on December 21. The annual bonfire originated in 1959 when the center's staff burnt debris from Typhoon Vera—and the monkeys began gathering around the flames without fear of the fire.

📷 → THE ASAHI SHIMBUN

LOS ANGELES

Hot Van Gogh

A 92-foot-tall Vincent Van Gogh-shaped hot air balloon, styled after the artist's self portraits, is launched by Lighthouse Immersive at Lake Hollywood Park on December 20. The flight, organizers say, commemorates the Immersive Van Gogh Exhibit's 4 million-plus visitors.

📷 → RODIN ECKENROTH

Spain - Recovery, transformation and resilience

Having bounced back strongly after more than a year of pandemic-induced crisis, Spain's economy is gaining momentum. Real GDP growth is set to hit 4.6% this year and employment soared, exceeding pre-pandemic levels by October. Fitch Ratings reports that Spain's economic recovery will only accelerate in 2022: GDP growth is forecast to reach 6.2%, underpinned by a €140 billion EU recovery fund spending package, a robust, value-added economy, and rising investment in new green and digital initiatives. Investors are already taking note.

Spain has benefitted from the steady hand of Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez, who negotiated one of the most robust EU recovery fund packages among all 27 member states last year, and who sees opportunity in the crisis, as he explained:

“The Recovery, Transformation and Resilience Plan approved by the European Commission is the most ambitious economic plan in the recent history of Spain. It is a plan that will be our best opportunity since we joined the European Communities in 1986. We do not only want to be able to regain our GDP levels, we also want to transform our economy, by making it more digital and greener, and also more inclusive and fair.”

Pedro Sánchez
Prime Minister of Spain

Even before the pandemic hit, Spain's economy was a star performer in western Europe. GDP growth averaged nearly 3% between 2014 and 2019, in sharp contrast to many of its neighbours. A large base of well-developed food processing and manufacturing companies pushed export growth to nearly 60% between 2005 and 2020, and Spain's highly-internationalized construction and service companies supported the powerhouse tourism sector in expanding service growth: according to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Spain's service exports surged by 29% between 2015 and 2019 to hit $157.1 billion.

The pandemic has shone a light on areas where Spain holds a significant competitive advantage in driving future digital, green economic growth. Renewable energy is abundant, and the country's solar industry is one of the most well-developed in the world. A large, efficient, and skilled workforce, ideal geographic position, and high quality of life make Spain the ideal location for major multinationals.

Many, including IBM, Pfizer, Oracle, Celgene, Caterpillar, AIAC, Freeport Moran, Microsoft, Cargill, Abbott Laboratories, Agilent Technologies, and Costco manage their southern European and North African operations from Spain. Foreign direct investment in the country actually rose in 2020, hitting $9 billion against $8.5 billion in 2020.

For Sanchez, this is only the beginning: “The Spanish Recovery and Resilience Plan will open tremendous partnership opportunities in areas as smart mobility, digitization and clean energy. We will continue to facilitate business development and a close cooperation between foreign and Spanish companies in order to promote a more resilient and sustainable growth model,” he concluded.

Damm - The Mediterranean beer looks to the world

“A splendid combination of economic potential, culture and quality of life” is a compelling billing for a country, and a deserved one for Spain. The description comes from a recent report on the country by business association Círculo de Empresarios and consultancy BCG which highlighted the fact that Spain had the highest growth in the eurozone on the eve of the covid-19 pandemic. The report asserts that Spain “possesses the necessary talent and resources to continue leading growth over the coming years”.

This economic resurgence is good news for the Spanish consumer sector, as reflected in findings by data and consultancy company Kantar in late 2021 - 89.2% of Spanish consumers are optimistic about the future, and the majority (70.2%) of Spanish have not seen their level of income affected by the pandemic.

This air of optimism is buoying Damm, a leading Spanish brewery now diversified into sectors including logistics, restaurant services, and distribution. The company expects 2021 financial results to match those of 2019, a record year, and 2022 to set new records. It is targeting turnover of €2bn ($2.3bn) by 2025. But above all, the past two years have reaffirmed the business's values.

“Last year was an opportunity to show to the 10,000 people that work in the group that they are part of a family,” says Demetrio Carceller Arce, chairman of both Damm and DISA, an energy company which has a 35% stake in the brewer. “This is a company with over 100 years of history and which is run by families; we have a responsibility to hand it on to the next generation. The team's reaction during the recent crisis was superb: we found very good leaders among our people and we showed tremendous energy to cope with the different challenges we faced.”

Demetrio Carceller Arce
Chairman - Damm

Carceller Arce places strong emphasis on “decency quotient” as well as the “emotional quotient” and IQ that are already widely prized in business. It is an approach that has benefitted Damm's shareholders, with an appetite for opportunity and risk married with the need to deliver sound balance sheets and provide security for investors and partners.

Both groups are set to benefit from the ongoing business expansion of both Damm and DISA. Damm's success in a range of European markets continues, and the company is seeking partners for distribution and to develop new markets. DISA, with 300MW of renewable energy capacity in Spain, has recently made acquisitions in Portugal and Uruguay, and is eyeing opportunities for clean energy investment in regions including South America and Africa.

Carceller Arce is proud that Spain is the ideal springboard for his companies' international growth. “We have great infrastructure, culture, and people,” he says. “We'd like to create a network of Spanish companies to make the market better for everyone.”

Damm

Bon Preu - Catalan Retail Champion Puts Proximity First

Forecasting "robust growth rates… accompanied by falling unemployment", ratings agency Fitch gave a strong vote of confidence to the Spanish economy in October 2021, noting falling debt and a shrinking deficit. Fitch forecasts stellar growth of 6.3% this year and 6.4% in 2022, with the EU's Next Generation funds boosting medium-term growth potential thereafter and accelerating the pace of public debt reduction. The report came four months after the agency affirmed Spain's A- investment-grade rating, with stable outlook, citing the country's "high value-added economy, strong governance indicators, and ease of doing business and human development rankings". Fitch has noted that Spain entered the COVID-19 pandemic in much stronger macroeconomic shape than it faced the 2008-09 global financial crisis, thanks to impressive economic growth and economic rebalancing.

Joan Font
Chairman - Bon Preu

The rising economic tide is lifting Spain's dynamic retail sector, with sales soaring in the second quarter of 2021. The industry is one of the country's strongest and liveliest: it saw four consecutive years of all-time highs of investment in 2015-18. In 2019, the last full year before the pandemic, 27 new retailers launched in Spain, and even before COVID-19, e-commerce was growing at nearly 30% a year. The food and grocery market alone is expected to be worth nearly $160bn by the end of 2023, says business information provider MarketLine. Indeed, with a market of nearly 50m people, plus more than 80m tourist visits per year, Spain's retail sector is one of the most enticing in the world.

Catalonian retail champion Bon Preu is in prime position to capitalise on the next wave of retail growth, to the benefit of its customers, employees and suppliers. The company generated more than $1.9bn in turnover in 2020, up 9% on 2019 despite the deep recession, and the company expects to top $2.2bn in the next one to two years. The food business alone grew by 20% in 2020. Bon Preu's success is founded on being rooted in the Catalan communities in which it operates.

"Emotional proximity is an essential factor for us," says Bon Preu chairman Joan Font. "People really appreciate the companies which are committed to their environment in all aspects: physical, emotional, intellectual, branding, culture. We want Bon Preu's emotional proximity to be concretely perceived. It's a value of the company that all 9000 employees have. Proximity with people on the street, honesty, working as a team: the company's interests go farther than shareholders and directors."

Bon Preu's business model stands out as benchmark in Catalonia in providing a wide variety of fresh and quality products, excellent customer service, very competitive prices, and a pleasant shopping environment. The company is committed to a local commercial policy and promotes quality local produce. Its product range continues to evolve constantly, incorporating items to enhance the daily life of customers and meet their evolving needs.

Following its strategy of being a provider of essential services, Bon Preu has expanded its businesses beyond the Bonpreu and Esclat supermarkets, into segments including fuel -through the EsclatOil gas stations - and energy, through the electricity marketer BonpreuEsclat Energia.

The company's commitment to people is reflected in its approach to its employees as well as customers. More than a fifth of Bon Preu's staff have been with the company more than ten years, 75% of the company's positions of responsibility are held by women, and it offers a range of training programmes for professional development. Bon Preu hired an additional 1000 people in 2020, reflecting both commercial success and its appeal as a workplace.

The retailer also has a long track record of working with a range of international and domestic partners, helping them tap into the Spanish retail growth story. One of the most significant has been with British online grocery and logistics solutions company Ocado, one of the world leaders in its segment. Bon Preu was the first international Ocado partner and in 2017 they signed a contract which includes delivery to local collection points and home delivery in Catalonia. Bon Preu operates Ocado's "Smart Platform" using in-store fulfilment technology both in its main outlets and in dark stores. After having launched this technology, Bon Preu was well-placed to deliver to the rapidly-evolving needs of customers during the pandemic and associated lockdowns; its online sales grew 118% in 2021, via both deliveries and its 20 collection points.

To continue growing, to continue satisfying the necessities of its clients, and to continue improving and innovating, the company's will to invest continues to stay intact. "We have invested $680m in the past five years, and will invest another $170m this year," says Font. "We have no problems with financial support. We aren't speculating with our company, we are staying the course and committing to expanding and improving the business. We have a good business model, with higher productivity than our competitors. We foresee excellent growth in the coming years, and as the market changes, we will continue to seek partners who can help us innovate and develop in new areas."

Bon Preu's focus on innovation exemplifies its home region. Catalonia's openness to business and excellent education has made it a locus for investment in innovation, talent, and technology. It is a global leader in cultivating entrepreneurship, grounded in its history, culture, and location - aspects of which Font is justly proud.

"There is an instinct for business here that compliments the local talent and knowledge and makes it a strong investment destination," he says. "We have other strong fundamentals: good infrastructure and good business schools. Our environment is very attractive, we have a strong cultural appeal, and an ideal geographical position."

Bonpreu
ESCLAT

CIE Automotive

Flexibility and adaptability prove key to success for Spanish auto giant

After a difficult 2020, Spain is forecast to see strong economic growth over the coming years, aided by the Next Generation EU European recovery funds, which the government predicts will create 800,000 jobs over the next three years alone. Spain’s prime minister, Pedro Sánchez, has described the plans as the “most ambitious” economic transformation program in the country’s modern history.

One area that could strongly benefit is the country’s automotive industry. Spain is the second largest automaker in Europe and the eighth largest in the world; the automotive industry makes up roughly 10% of Spain’s GDP and 18% of its exports.

“In the automotive sector, Spain, and the Basque country in particular, is a world reference, “ says Jesus María Herrera, chief executive of CIE Automotive, an integrator of the automotive components industry. “We do not have an automotive brand; in cars all the brands are German or French. We are in the second level, and here you need different abilities, especially efficiency. In the Basque country, for example, we can get more than €300,000 worth of production a year from each worker – you can’t get that anywhere else in Europe.”

For over 25 years CIE, a supplier of components, assemblies and sub-assemblies for the global automotive market, has been at the forefront of the Spanish automotive industry, supplying the majority of the world’s original equipment manufacturers (OEM) and Tier 1 automotive brands. The company now has over 25,000 employees across 110 production sites in 16 countries, with an expansion strategy that combines both organic growth and acquisitions.

“We consider ourselves consolidators in the automotive sector. We are present in almost all the countries where our clients are,” says Herrera.

Despite being forced to close for three months at the height of the pandemic, CIE has had an impressive few years, aided by a big recovery in the second part of 2020. This year, the company is expecting to have its second-best year ever; in the first nine months of 2021 the company saw revenues of €2.46 billion, 23% higher than in the same period of 2020, with net profits up 75% to €206 million.

From an investor’s perspective, CIE also delivers strong returns of around 20%. “It’s a hard sector, but it’s possible to achieve success by doing things well, with an important diversification model that allows you to obtain this level of profitability,” Herrera says. “CIE is an industrial company, but with a very strong financial mentality, and that’s why we obtain these results.”

CIE Automotive

Jesus María Herrera
CEO - CIE Automotive

“Crises create opportunities, as many competitors are forced to leave the market,” he adds. “Those of us with a healthy balance sheet, and who continue to make a profit, find ourselves in a market with fewer players and more opportunities.”

The company retains a long term vision, and over the last few years has been focusing on expanding in Asia, while continuing to rely on its decentralised management approach, led by local teams. “We started in India where today we have a very important presence,” says Herrera. “We also continue to work with China; the last important acquisition we made was the purchase of Inteva’s roofing division, which gave us technology and a very important presence in the country. And we continue to look towards Southeast Asia and South Korea.”

While some still talk of globalisation as if it’s a new trend, CIE has been focused on internationalising its business for 25 years. “We have always been global and we have always wanted to be among the first in every country,” says Herrera. “One key for us is that every time we go to a new country, we go with a local partner who shows us how things work, and then we bring the technological know-how and our culture, ambitions and financial mentality.”

For CIE, people and culture are the most important attributes. “It requires a lot of flexibility and adaptation, having a presence in so many countries requires well-trained teams, with clear ideas and the ability to perform tasks as fast as needed.”

Herrera acknowledges the challenges of operating in the automotive industry, but sees the rewards for doing it right. “In the automotive industry, making money is very difficult. CIE has always known how to adapt with economic and growth ambitions, which is what has allowed us to be a benchmark in the sector,” he says.

The company is now looking to play a significant role in the electric car revolution currently underway.

Regarding his home country, Herrera believes Spain has been under-appreciated as an economic force. “Spain has done a very important job over the last 20 years, we have world benchmark companies, some of the best players in the global market,” he says. “In Spain we have concentrated on technological knowledge and on a culture of continuous searching for efficiency and competitiveness – this is a merit both to the companies and also to the workers who understood and followed that culture.”

CIE Automotive

Grupo Ortiz - Sustainable infrastructure for global growth

Spain's construction sector benefits from a strong base of highly-internationalized companies that have made their mark on the global construction industry, and the ongoing global green transition presents major opportunities to forward-thinking firms. Swiss Re reports that green and sustainable infrastructure projects will offer private investors an estimated $1.4 trillion of annual global opportunity between 2021 and 2040, meaning green builders will be in extremely high demand. Grupo Ortiz is ready for its next growth phase.

Founded in 1961, Grupo Ortiz has grown from humble roots to become a leading specialist in concessions, photovoltaic renewable energy, and an expert in sustainable infrastructure. It has flourished over the years by remaining customer-oriented, flexible and able to adapt to projects´ current and future needs, and by believing in their work, according to Juan Antonio Carpintero López, group chairman:

Juan Antonio Carpintero
Group Chairman - Grupo Ortiz

"During the crisis of 2007-2008 we realized we needed to change the way we do things, and so we internationalized. We developed the economic, legal and financial capabilities to become a good fit for international concessions, and changed enormously from 2008 onwards. That's when we started doing concessions in energy, infrastructure and healthcare. The merit of Ortiz is our readiness to participate in the new ways of investing in different countries around the world."

The group has spent the past 13 years expanding its horizons, boosting its project portfolio to more than €6 billion along the way, with the bulk of its revenues now derived from international projects. Annual turnover hit €450 million in 2020 despite the challenges brought on by the pandemic, and it is expected by the company to reach pre-pandemic levels by 2022. Today the group employs more than 2000 people, with projects in 13 countries including Japan, Mexico, Colombia, France, Panama, and Chile.

As the world emerges from the worst of the pandemic and green infrastructure spending surges, Mr. Carpintero is looking to the future. He's open to new partnerships, investment, and opportunities to collaborate in concessions and engineering, procurement and construction contracts: Grupo Ortiz benefits from diversified business lines that enable it to invest in, operate, and execute international infrastructure and energy concessions, and new collaborations would bring many benefits to all parties, he explained:

"We have been resilient throughout multiple crises, and we have the capacity to deliver infrastructure operations through international multilateral financing; we are a global company with multilateral financing. Within the next two to three years we foresee many new concessions where we could bid competitively and successfully, most notably in Latin America and the US."

GRUPORTIZ
commitment to sustainability

Marqués de Riscal Winery

Award-winning Spanish winery pushing organic wines

The wine industry continues to play a major role in Spain, with wine being one of the country's main agrifood exports, behind only pork, citrus fruits and olive oil. Spain is also the world's second largest exporter of wine in terms of volume, and third in value, according to CaixaBank Research.

Some Spanish wineries, like the Marqués de Riscal Winery, have been in operation for over 160 years. Marqués de Riscal was also the first vineyard in the Rioja region to introduce the French method of ageing wine, which creates a much better quality. "From the beginning, the Marqués had to export his wines, because the Spanish market wasn't really there for these types of wines and was not ready to pay those kinds of prices," says Alejandro Aznar Sainz, president of Marqués de Riscal Winery.

Marquésde Riscal is now sold in more than 120 countries, notably the USA, south and central America and Europe, with more than 60% of its wines exported. "We have a very strong market in Japan. We would like our presence in China to grow, but it's difficult to consolidate. Same in India. In South Korea we have developed really well in the last few years," says Sainz.

In 2021 it was named the best vineyard and winery in Europe by World's Best Vineyards, and second best in the world, and while 2020 was a disruptive year, with restaurant purchases impacted by lockdown restrictions, consumer sales have risen significantly. "The reality is that the market is very strong now, 2021 will be close to 2019," says Sainz.

Marqués de Riscal has invested heavily in building its brand in recent decades. "It's very costly for a medium size company to invest in 120 countries worldwide in marketing," says Sainz. "We did it through architecture. We created the City of Wine in Elciego, which has our winery and hotel and has been a very powerful tool for us to promote the brand worldwide."

The winery is also focused on making all its vineyards ecological. It already has the organic label for its white wine vineyards, and about 50% of its vineyards in the Rioja region. "We're in the process of getting it for all of them," says Sainz. "Our new facilities in Rueda, which we will start building next year, will be fully designed according to our organic philosophy."

Sainz says the challenge for the Spanish wine industry as a whole, apart from the Rioja region where values are already higher, is to raise the price of its wine. "Spain still produces a lot of bulk wine which is exported worldwide. If this would be bottled and labeled, it would add a lot of value for all."

Grupo Número 1 - Bold strategy and vision

“Economic activity will pick up strongly” in Spain in the wake of the covid-19 pandemic, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) forecast in mid-2021, with growth reaching 5.9% in 2021 and 6.3% in 2022. The organisation expects a significant acceleration of investment, which will continue to “grow robustly”, and the continuation of supportive fiscal policy, which has helped companies, workers, and regions affected by the pandemic and related lockdowns. The government’s national recovery plan is worth $80bn, or almost 6% of pre-covid GDP, over the coming three years. Next Generation EU funds will supplement national spending, and provide a platform for long-term growth. The OECD noted that consumers will respond to the positive macroeconomic news, with precautionary saving falling and private consumption rising.

As early as March 2021, these effects were already being seen, as a report by global consultancy McKinsey noted, recording “steady overall optimism” and “signs of a spend recovery”. The official retail trade index produced by the National Institute of Statistics leapt by 18% in March, 38.4% in April, and 18.9% in May, before settling to a steadier pattern in the third quarter. McKinsey also reported an increase in spending on discretionary categories, a trend which is accelerating, and that 40% of consumers were planning to “splurge or treat themselves”, with a spike in spending on categories such as apparel expected.

Grupo Número 1 is riding this wave of growth as one of Spain’s leading retail businesses. Founded more than 40 years ago as a modest fashion shop in the Canary Islands, the company now has activities in retail, real estate, and a range of other services. Throughout its history, Grupo Número 1 has consistently delivered the best consumer experience for its customers, rapidly adapting to changes in the market, and always seeking new solutions in this dynamic sector.

“After opening our first shop, we rapidly became recognised as the family store of the Canary Islands,” says Número 1 founder and president Amid Achi Fadul. “Wherever there was a church, or a pharmacy, or a savings bank, there was a Número 1 shop too. We became part of the Canarian urban landscape, and this is our greatest milestone. We have always bought good brands and quality merchandise, and we sell at a good price; the motto is to earn little and sell a lot.”

The company now operates nearly 20 shopping centres across the Canary Islands, with a gross leasable area of more than 250,000 sq m and more than 900 commercial premises. It is also the largest multi-franchisee in Spain, managing 17 commercial brands and more than 150 shops as franchises and private-label businesses. Grupo Número 1’s understands the local market, and its successful business strategy has led to long-standing partnerships with leading European and US brands including Levis, Guess, Inditex, and Portugal’s Sonae Group.

Amid Achi Fadul
Founder and President - Grupo Número 1

“We have a wide range of flourishing partnerships,” says Fadul. “We are open for new proposals and are always seeking activities that can be developed here in the Canary Islands. Our door is open to any company that wants to have us as their ‘travel companions’ for its activities in the Canary Islands and beyond.”

Grupo Número 1’s versatility and resilience has been demonstrated through the pandemic, in which it has boosted its online sales and developed home delivery services to serve its large customer base. It has also invested in expanding its real estate portfolio, with the support of banks, which have focused on lending to leading entrepreneurs with solid and trustworthy businesses during the recession.

“We decided to look ahead into the future, and to do that you need to adapt and be positive,” says Fadul. “There is something positive in everything – you have to discover it and capitalise on it; that’s our vision. It’s important to make bold decisions, to know when to invest, and make swift decisions. Thanks to this, we still managed to carry on and maintain ourselves throughout the covid-19 pandemic.”

Expansion in Africa is a key part of this strategy. Grupo Número 1 is already present in nine markets in West Africa and is preparing to enter nine more, using the same model that has proved so successful in Spain: buying quality brands and selling them at affordable prices. Buying end-of-season summer stock in Europe has helped the company deliver lower prices to its African customers, and it had acquired 20m units in Europe by mid-November 2021 alone. Grupo Número 1 is also starting to develop its construction and real estate business in Africa, along the lines of its Canarian operations.

These developments capitalise on the Canary Islands’ key competitive advantages as a bridge between Europe and Africa. He asserts that European and American investors should see the islands as an ideal place to offer services including education and healthcare to affluent Africans, who can travel easily to the Canaries and find them warm, welcoming and safe.

“The Canary Islands are a door to Africa, which is growing at an incredible pace,” he says. “By 2050 there will be more than 2bn Africans, and some countries have GDP growth of 8-10%. We have to look towards the continent, and the Canaries are a window, the exchange platform that unites Africa and Europe.”

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PERSONAL GROWTH

How to Keep Learning All Your Life

The need to learn is constant, but the tools necessary for it change as you get older

GETTY

Learning is a lifelong endeavor. But it is not the same endeavor all your life long. Your brain changes over the course of time, and so does your social and physical environment. In each phase of life, however, six physical and environmental factors are crucial to learning—sleep; exercise; diet; support for physical and mental health; opportunities for mastery; and safety to fail.

Physical Needs

SLEEP. The effects of sleep on learning are direct and immediate. Sleep is so crucial to the processes of learning, memory, judgment and insight, that it should be factored into any educational or creative project plan. **EXERCISE.** Exercise improves mood, decision-making and other psychological functions, which facilitates learning and the ability to use what is learned. Strength, aerobic and balance/control exercises like yoga and tai chi are all helpful. **HEART-HEALTHY DIET.** The mechanisms here aren't well understood, but a body of evidence shows striking effects of a heart-healthy diet on cognitive performance, particularly in later life.

Environmental Needs

SUPPORT FOR PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH. If a person's environment does not support their well-being, their capacity to learn will be diminished. Basics include quality food, health care, space and time for exercise and sleep, as well as social norms that encourage healthy habits, and practical help when needed. **OPPORTUNITIES FOR MASTERY.** Experiences of mastery teach people that they can learn, that the initial state of helplessness or confusion in the face of a new challenge will dissipate and be replaced by competence. A healthy learning environment, therefore, provides plentiful and diverse opportunities for people to experience mastery. **SAFETY TO FAIL.** No one achieves mastery—at crawling, coding or anything else—without some initial awkwardness. Learning inevitably involves getting it wrong, taking too long, forgetting key things, making poor choices. If these experiences are punished or made shameful, learning will be impeded, as extensive research by our colleague Amy Edmondson has shown. An environment that promotes learning is one that destigmatizes and even celebrates the mistakes that come from learning or worthwhile experimentation.

Here's how to take advantage of the key factors at each stage of life.

BY

ROBIN ABRAHAMS
and
BORIS GROYSBERG

Early Adulthood (15–25): Take the Right Risks

When people are asked to reflect on their most important life events, chances are they will recall moments from this extraordinarily important, emotionally vivid, cognitively blooming decade. The brain of an adolescent is changing and developing nearly as fast as in infancy. These are the years when people make important choices about education, occupation, social and romantic relationships, beliefs and ideologies. The decisions made at this point in life have a profound impact on future learning opportunities

A 15-year-old is intellectually adult in many ways, able to think abstractly, think through scenarios, consider multiple points of view, plan long-range action, make independent moral judgments. A 15-year-old can process novel information faster than an adult. What a 15-year-old lacks is wisdom, due to limited life experience and, more importantly, a not-yet-fully developed brain. The prefrontal cortex—the part of the brain that integrates information and plans appropriate actions to achieve goals, a series of processes known overall as "executive function"—does not fully mature until about age 25.

Adolescent behavior is characterized by three things: seeking novelty, taking risks and intense concern with the peer group. The "Teen Triad"

Photo-illustrations by WESTEND61

behaviors have been observed not only in all cultures, but in nearly all social mammals. The interlocking nature and cross-species universality of the Teen Triad suggest that they are crucial to learning. At the same time, as any parent can attest, the Triad can pose a great risk to present learning and future opportunities. The primary challenge in early adulthood is to take the right risks: risks that will enhance, rather than foreclose, possibilities of future learning.

The most necessary risk is the failure inherent in learning. Failing in front of peers is particularly painful for early adults. This can lead to a default tendency to maintain appearances at the cost of actual learning.

ADVICE FOR EARLY ADULTHOOD

Your memory is as strong as it will ever be, and you also have more time to dedicate to learning than you will later on in life. Take advantage of this! Languages, anatomy, formulas, dates and names—whatever the baseline of knowledge is in your field, absorb it now. Think of it as packing a bag for a long trip, and stock up on anything you might want when you're 40.

Develop learning-friendly habits—sleep, exercise and diet, along with meditation, spending time outdoors, journaling or some other reflective exercise.

Your brain is not yet physically capable of providing reliable direction when it comes to long-term planning, so augment it with technology. Use automatic retirement deductions, site blockers, productivity or habit-tracking apps, whatever works to supplement your executive function.

If you think you may have dyslexia, attention deficit disorder or any other learning disability or disorder, try to get tested while you are still in the educational system.

Emerging Adulthood (25–45): Absorb and Reflect

Once the brain is physically matured, adult life is structured more by cultural norms and individual life choices and experiences than by biology. Some 40-year-olds are grandparents; some are first-time parents. A 30-year-old may be retiring from a career in sports, or just beginning one in medicine.

Midlife is busy and characterized by more social roles (for example, parent, worker, student, spouse, committee member) than any other life stage. Life transitions proliferate, as these years see multiple changes in work, family life, physical health and more.

Fortunately, Emerging Adults are at the top of their game, enjoying the best of youth and age. The risky behaviors of youth have subsided, the immune system is strong and the risks of cancer and heart disease are low. Intellectually, most skills are at their peak and the Emerging Adult has had sufficient education, training and experience to have developed real expertise in a field or two.

Much of the learning of this phase comes from direct life experiences, rather than instruction or study. Not all learning is explicit, nor does it all take place on the conscious level. What is learned in midlife often cannot be taught in books. The challenge of emerging adulthood is to create time and space to absorb and reflect on the lessons that life is bringing.

TIPS FOR EMERGING ADULTHOOD

Prioritize physical health. "Body over mind" isn't a bad motto for these years. This is important for two reasons. First, your physical health and habits in these years are predictive of functioning (both physical and mental) in later life. Second, in the present, good sleep and exercise habits will improve your ability to absorb, integrate and use all the new knowledge, skills and wisdom you are accumulating.

Try not to compartmentalize the various life roles you are playing. Having diverse people around you promotes creativity and learning—and so does having inner diversity as well. What skills, knowledge perspective can you transfer from one role or situation to another?

Get in the habit of forming cross-generational friendships, a spur to learning that will become increasingly important over time.

Established Adulthood (45-60): Don't Get Too Big to Fail

At this point, there is some inevi-

table slowing down. Memory and processing speed are not what they were earlier in life. However, wisdom and accumulated knowledge are very high, which can compensate—or more—in real-life situations. Aging successfully means making these trade-offs and figuring out how to "work smart" using pattern recognition, decades' worth of experience, external aids and personal networks. This is the stage when the resources accumulated in earlier phases of life—healthy habits, diverse relationships, expertise, self-awareness—start to really matter.

Play to your strengths—but balance that with trying new things, taking risks, daring to fail. If you don't push past your competence/comfort zone at this age, that zone will inevitably contract. The challenge for this phase is to avoid being fooled by your own wisdom, and to make time for failure.

A body of evidence shows striking effects of a heart-healthy diet on cognitive performance, particularly in later life.

TIPS FOR ESTABLISHED ADULTHOOD

Established adults are usually concerned with "generativity," or giving back to the next generation in some way—successfully launching their children, teaching or mentoring at work, political or community involvement and the like. Find your own mode of generativity as a source of both meaning and learning. Seek formal or informal reverse- or two-way mentoring relationships with younger people.

Strength and aerobic exercise become increasingly important for cognitive function and emotional well-being (which directly affects the ability to put what is learned into practice). It isn't too late to start developing this habit now. If you are a regular exerciser, think about switching up your routines to introduce novelty.

If possible, get a neuropsychological assessment at this point to serve as a baseline of your personal "normal." Any age- or injury-related impairments later on can be assessed more accurately if you have this.

Late Adulthood (60+): Prune and Graft

People are living, working and learning longer. Still, aging takes a toll. The biological mechanisms of learning (attention, memory, reasoning, executive function) naturally decline.

Motivation also changes with age. Early adults are driven to seek novelty, later adults are not. Those who do remain open to new experiences—particularly people who make a point to learn new skills and process new information—have less cognitive decline than peers who do not. This learning, however, does not need to be academic or professional—wisdom, improved social skills, self-knowledge are also learning goals. People are more motivated by personal, emotional goals than by achievement at this age.

This motivational shift shows in the workforce, where both early and later adults are more concerned with meaning and sociability than with money or status. For younger people, this reflects the importance of the peer group and identity development. For older adults, it reflects the main challenge of this phase of life—to cut back on all but the most vital, rewarding commitments and roles, and combine those roles as much as possible. Prune and graft!

TIPS FOR LATE ADULTHOOD

One of the best ways to "prune and graft" is to combine physical exercise with mental activity—games, dance, tai chi, "forest bathing." Engaging the mind and body at the same time has a multiplicative effect.

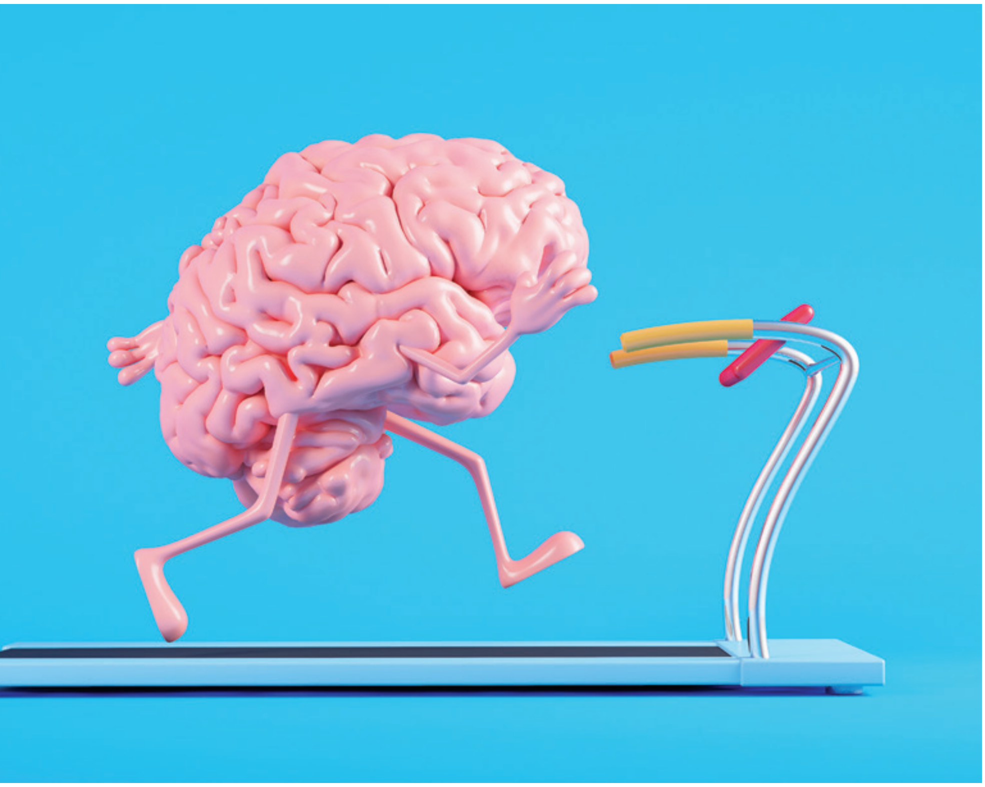
Push back on negative stereotypes of aging and the elderly, both in society at large in terms of any internalized beliefs you might have.

Continue to plan future activities and projects. These do not have to be grand, ambitious undertakings, but a sense of meaningful forward motion is crucial in later life.

Indulge in active nostalgia, if you wish. You have a lifetime to look back on. Reconnect with old friends, research your family history, resume a hobby from your youth. Your accumulation of knowledge at this point can lead to truly striking, original ideas.

"Brain training" computer games may entertain your brain, but don't improve cognitive performance. Mindfulness training and meditation, by contrast, have been shown to improve both intellectual performance and neural connectivity (that is., actual brain anatomy).

Motivation also changes with age. Early adults are driven to seek novelty, later adults are not.



Conclusion

Continual learning is a central aspect of who we are as a species. It is good for our bodies, our brains and our communities.

Developing both objective professional competencies and the broader, fundamental skills of being human requires taking a measure of control over your own life's learning. This process must be both proactive (deciding what skills and knowledge you want to develop and creating a plan to do so) and retrospective (reflecting on your experiences and observations and drawing lessons from them).

Not only is learning a lifetime activity, but so too is learning to learn. Your brain is not the same from decade to decade. Neither are your priorities, schedule, social roles, physical health. Each phase has new challenges, new advantages. Throughout it all, though, two things are and always will be true about learning: Anyone can get better at anything. The cost of improvement is failure.

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SAVE AMERICA!
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Trump's GOP support is strong. But mainstream Republicans worry **HIS FOCUS ON**

It's Complica

ted

“THE STEAL” could hurt the party in the midterms—and 2024

by BILL POWELL

MAGA MANIA
Donald Trump, seen here surrounded by enthusiastic fans at a GOP rally in Sarasota, Florida, earlier this year, is considered highly likely to make another run at the White House in 2024.

EVA MARIE UZCATEGUI/GETTY

A 2020 REPLAY? Political experts from both parties believe 2024 could shape up to be another Trump vs. Biden race. Top to bottom: The two men debate in Nashville, Tennessee, in 2020; Biden, with VP Kamala Harris, on his way to sign his infrastructure bill into law; and young supporters celebrate the Democratic victory in 2020.

A SELF-EFFACING FORMER MORTGAGE BROKER, MIKE Detmer has never thought of himself as a particularly polarizing figure. But that changed the moment Donald Trump endorsed him for the Michigan state senate in a race few outside of the district were paying attention to until the former president weighed in.

Detmer, who previously mounted an unsuccessful run in the 2020 Republican primary for the U.S. congressional seat representing southern Michigan's 8th District, is now challenging Lana Theis, an incumbent Republican state senator representing District 22 in the Detroit exurbs. Theis easily won her race in 2018 and had been considered a relatively safe bet for reelection in the solidly red district until Trump's backing of her competitor provided a jolt of fundraising to his campaign. Now, some state GOP officials worry, Trump's intervention in the race will force Theis to spend more resources to fend off the primary challenge and put a relatively safe seat in jeopardy. State Democrats are suddenly energized, believing that an ugly primary fight on the Republican side could open the door for an upset in November.

"Donald Trump may help our dreams come true in Michigan 22," says Abby Rubley, communications director for the Michigan Democratic Party.

Therein lies the challenge for the GOP in 2022—and beyond. As the former and possibly future president of the country, Trump holds more power and sway than anyone else in the party; who he backs in state races makes a big difference in fundraising and, ultimately, votes. Increasingly, though, Trump seems to be choosing candidates based on whether they support his claims, despite all evidence to the contrary, that the 2020 presidential election was stolen from him—even if they're not the Republicans with the strongest chance of winning.

Interviews with GOP politicians, staffers, consultants and operatives indicate many are worried that this obsession with the 2020 results, combined with Trump's brash style and desire to seek political vengeance against those whom he believes wronged him, could upset what polling otherwise indicates should be a historic victory for the GOP in the midterms and a good shot at retaking the White House two years later.

"We've got everything going for us, in 2022 and 2024," one GOP senator who is friendly with Trump tells *Newsweek*. "[But] not many voters are interested in relitigating the 2020 election. I've told the president this, I know others have told him, and it doesn't seem to have any effect. It's frustrating, for sure."

Looking Back, Not Ahead

THE ENDORSEMENT OF A CANDIDATE IN A RELATIVELY obscure race for a state senate seat in Michigan is just one example of Trump getting involved in a 2022 race because he wants to relitigate the 2020 presidential election. And there's little question in anyone's mind that that *is* the reason the former president got involved in the District 22 race: Theis, Detmer's opponent, served on a committee that looked into, and ultimately dismissed, allegations of voter fraud in Michigan's presidential election last year.

As the GOP's dominant figure with a rock-solid base of support, party insiders, though, are looking to Trump to help Republicans secure the future, not rewrite the past. Most Republicans believe their party's presidential nomination in 2024 is Trump's should he want it, and polls indicate that the majority of GOP voters want him to run again. Late this past summer, Trump's political action committee began hiring staff in Iowa—significant, of course, because it's where the first presidential nominating contest is held every four years—and the former president has strongly hinted that he'll run again.

> **"Not many voters are interested in RELITIGATING the 2020 election. I've told the president this; it doesn't seem to have any effect."**

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COUNT OUR VOTES HEAR OUR VOICES

FROM TOP: JIM BOURG/REUTERS/BLOOMBERG/GETTY; STEFANI REYNOLDS/BLOOMBERG/GETTY; ERIC BARADAT/AFP/GETTY

Trump's message, and the party's, should be a simple and straightforward "help is on the way," says Iowa GOP strategist Terry Nelson. Many Republicans believe Trump could successfully contrast his presidency with Biden's first year and ask, simply, "Miss me yet?"

Instead, Trump seems hyper-focused on replaying his claims of election fraud on whatever public stage he can find—including those meant to promote his party's 2022 candidates. And though it's true that polls indicate a majority of GOP voters share Trump's view that the election was stolen, it's not an issue many believe will motivate voters next year, or in 2024.

Many Democrats, on the other hand, view Trump's eye on the rearview mirror as the gift that keeps on giving. If he wants to keep the focus on 2020, they are more than happy to oblige. Congressional Democrats are leading the hearings into the Capitol riot on January 6, 2021, and hope to demonstrate that Trump's post-election rhetoric helped spur the so-called "insurrection." They also love the fact that he is stirring up trouble for many establishment Republican candidates, by endorsing rivals who are more "MAGA-friendly."

In Arizona, for example, Trump has endorsed political neophyte Kari Lake—a former local news anchorwoman—in her bid to succeed incumbent Governor Doug Ducey, who Trump refers to as a "RINO" (Republican in name only). Lake is the only candidate seeking the office who has said flatly that she thinks Trump won the state of Arizona in the 2020 election, echoing Trump's own claim, and is thus another example of an endorsement rooted in perpetuating the stolen election fallacy.

Arizona is a hotly competitive purple state. Both of its U.S. Senate seats flipped blue in recent years, and Biden won a narrow victory there, a first for a Democratic presidential candidate in this century. Now Trump's intervention in Arizona is giving Republican establishment operatives heartburn. Many of them are backing former Representative Matt Salmon in the crowded primary, a former congressman who narrowly lost the Arizona governor's race to Democrat Janet Napolitano in 2002.

Salmon has name recognition and the ability to raise large sums of money for what will likely be a very competitive general election next fall. Lake is a political unknown who is basing her candidacy mainly on the issue of election integrity, when polls show that other issues, such as inflation and border security, are more important to Arizona voters.

Lake has called Trump's endorsement "one of the greatest honors of my lifetime," and nearly all of the candidates Trump has endorsed across the country so far have welcomed the former president's support. That's not surprising. A *Newsweek* analysis of public campaign fundraising data for the first 40 candidates endorsed by Trump in 2021 shows the former president's lucrative effect: The Trump-backed candidates raised, on average, 50 percent more money in the month after receiving his support than they did in the month before the endorsement. In Detmer's case, the impact was even greater: In the three weeks after Trump backed him, his campaign raised $25,000, compared to $10,000 in the previous three weeks.

Election fraud isn't the only issue fueling Trump's anger—and his endorsements. For Congress from Michigan, Trump is also backing Steve Carra, a state representative who is running a GOP primary race against Fred Upton, a longtime incumbent who infuriated Trump by voting for his impeachment after the January 6 Capitol riot. Carra says he not only got an infusion of much-needed campaign funds after Trump's endorsement, but also got an infusion of energy.

"We had a bunch of people come out of the woodwork to volunteer once the president gave us his endorsement. I'm so thankful to him," Carra says.

A Double-Edged Sword

NOT ALL THE CANDIDATES TRUMP HAS BACKED NEED or needed his support, and a few have had mixed feelings about it. Former private equity executive Glenn Youngkin raised a record $68 million—the most ever for a GOP gubernatorial candidate in Virginia—for his successful race against former Governor Terry McAuliffe for the statehouse in Richmond. While he publicly welcomed Trump's May 11 endorsement, aides to Youngkin made it clear they did not want their candidate to campaign with Trump.

The reason was obvious: His opponent, McAuliffe, and all the surrogates he brought in to campaign for him, including President Joe Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris, desperately tried to make the race all about Trump. And it's no wonder—Virginia had become an increasingly blue state, voting for former President Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012, and Hillary Clinton in 2016. Biden, who won Virginia by 10 points in 2020, mentioned Trump repeatedly in his October 26 appearance with McAuliffe in Arlington, Virginia.

But the only things the affable Youngkin has in common with Trump are that he's a former businessman and a Republican. To deflect the Youngkin-equals-Trump attacks, "all he had to do was be himself," Jeff Roe, the campaign's chief strategist, says. As a result, Youngkin performed well among suburban voters—both men and women—who Trump had turned off.

While the former president's most loyal supporters love his brusque combativeness, and GOP operatives and elected officials understand that it is an essential part of his political brand, it's not for everyone, and in 2020 it motivated many voters to cast ballots for his opponent. Now, over a year after voters handed him a pink slip, the former

> **"I get down on my knees EVERY NIGHT PRAYING for [another Trump run]," says one Democratic consultant.**

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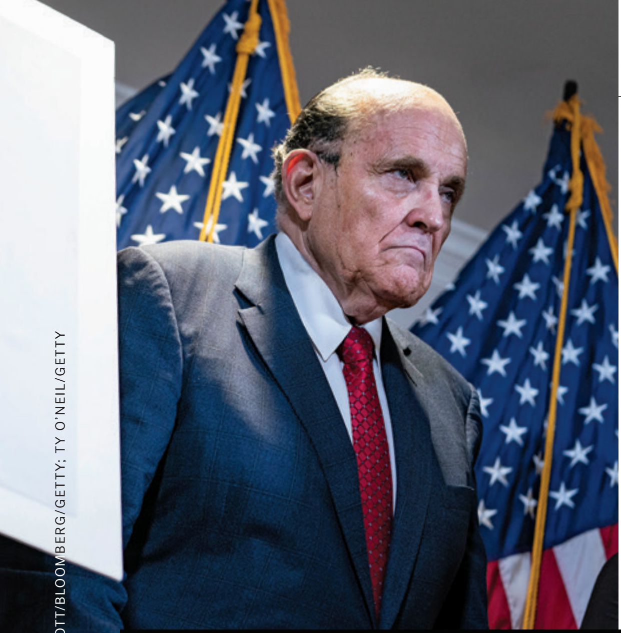

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SINGLE FOCUS
For Trump, the fight over the legitimacy of the 2020 election continues. Scenes from that year (from top): Rudy Giuliani discusses lawsuits related to the results; Trump speaks during the Republican National Convention; and the president's supporters make their feelings known.

president's obsession with alleged voter fraud drives many in the GOP to distraction.

With Biden's popularity declining, the overwhelming majority of the GOP wish Trump would focus on issues that matter to most voters: surging inflation and crime rates, an uncontained virus and the southern border. They believe doing so would make victory in the midterms a slam dunk—and set up Trump well for 2024. Conversely, they believe if Trump continues to obsess over the 2020 election, his intervention in races across the country could ultimately hurt the party.

Consider Georgia, for instance, where Trump was quick to endorse former Senator David Perdue when he entered the gubernatorial race, fresh off his own narrow defeat in January 2021. Trump loathes the incumbent Republican governor in Georgia, Brian Kemp, because in Trump's view he wouldn't aggressively pursue alleged irregularities in the presidential vote. Kemp's supporters note that he backed a recount, and pressed his secretary of state, Brad Raffensperger, to conduct an audit of ballot signatures on votes cast in the state. They also note that the state economy is booming. But for Trump, his narrow defeat in a state that had voted for the Republican candidate in each of the six previous presidential elections is a particular sore point, and Kemp an obvious target for his ire.

If Kemp staves off his primary challenge, he will go up against Stacey Abrams, one of the Democratic Party's biggest rising stars in recent years, for the second time. Abrams lost by less than two percentage points when she ran against Kemp in 2018. Incidentally, she challenged the validity of the 2018 vote, alleging voter suppression and—like Trump in 2020—initially refused to accept the results. Kemp could use that issue against Abrams in the campaign, but first has to fend off Perdue's claims that he didn't do enough to investigate alleged fraud last year.

"It's just a shame we have two good Republicans going up against each other needlessly when we'll need to be unified next fall," says Georgia GOP strategist Eric Tanenblatt.

Trump's endorsement has already caused some awkward moments in that race. Perdue, in an interview with Fox News' Sean Hannity where he was questioned about the "integrity" of the voting system in Georgia, said he wanted to run a race "looking forward, not backward." But three days later, Perdue told Axios that if he had been

GEORGIA
WELCOMES
DONALD J. TRUMP
45TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
SAVE A

NOT SO PEACHY
The integrity of 2020's presidential vote in Georgia is an issue in this year's gubernatorial race between GOP candidates Governor Brian Kemp and former senator David Perdue. Here, at a Republican rally in September, one attendee shows where he stands.

MERICA
PERDUE ARENA
45

SEAN RAYFORD/GETTY

governor at the time of the 2020 election, he would not have certified the vote, as Kemp did—a claim that virtually guarantees his race against Kemp will be dominated by that issue. Perdue has also signed on to a lawsuit claiming that fraudulent ballots were counted in Georgia's Fulton County.

If Not Trump, Then Who?

SOURCES CLOSE TO TRUMP SAY THE RESULTS OF THE midterm elections will factor into his decision on whether to run again in 2024. "If we win back the House and Senate, he's in," a source familiar with the former president's thinking tells *Newsweek*.

What the GOP is trying to figure out is whether that's a good thing. Most current polling now shows Trump edging Biden in a hypothetical rematch in 2024—a reflection of the abysmal year the president has had in 2021. But much can change in three years. Will COVID-19 still be rampant in 2024? Will the economy be better, or worse? Will a foreign policy crisis emerge? Will Biden appear healthy enough to withstand a campaign in which he'd have to be far more active than in 2020, when the pandemic severely restricted the usual activities of campaigning?

As it stands now, Republicans believe that Trump—if he can run a campaign not fixated on unproven allegations of voter fraud, but rather based on his record while in office and his plans for a second term—would be able to beat Biden or whomever the Democrats may nominate in 2024.

Even Trump's friends and political allies acknowledge that is a big "if." They worry that Trump's rambling, off-the-cuff style at campaign rallies or in interviews will inevitably lead him "down the rabbit hole of 2020," says a senior official at the Republican National Committee who didn't want to be quoted publicly.

"He just can't seem to comprehend that three years from now no one's going to want to hear it," a Republican senator who speaks frequently with Trump tells *Newsweek*. "He has such contempt for Biden that it doesn't seem possible to him that he actually lost to the guy. That thought drives him to distraction."

Some GOP officials also worry that Trump's polarizing style will drive away the same voters it did in 2020: moderate Republicans, particularly women, and a significant number of independents. They point to Youngkin's recent victory in Virginia, and note that he brought back many of the moderate, suburban Republicans who had deserted Trump. Wouldn't

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TURNING POINT ACTION
TURNING POINT ACTION
TURNING POINT ACTION
TURNING POINT ACTION

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01: DREW ANGERER/GETTY; 02: NIC ANTAYA/GETTY; 03: CARLOS BERNATE/BLOOMBERG/GETTY; 04: PAUL HENNESSY/GETTY; 05: ELIJAH NOUVELAGE/BLOOMBERG/GETTY; 06: BRANDON BELL/GETTY; 07: CAROLINE BREHMAN/BLOOMBERG/GETTY; 08: CHRISTOPHER GOODNEY/BLOOMBERG/GETTY

Trump at the top of the ticket drive them away again?

Veteran political analyst Larry Sabato of the University of Virginia believes he would, in Virginia and across the country. "This is why so many Democrats are hoping he's the nominee again," Sabato says.

But Trump's looming presence, and the possibility he may run again, is enough to freeze the field of potential GOP presidential aspirants. Only former New Jersey Governor Chris Christie seems likely to seek the nomination regardless of whether Trump runs. The other prominent candidates from last time, including Senators Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz, won't challenge Trump if he declares. Some have speculated that Florida Governor Ron DeSantis, who many GOP operatives believe would be the front-runner for 2024 absent Trump, might mount a challenge, but no one around Trump world in Mar-A-Lago believes that, and DeSantis deflects any questions about a possible presidential run. Moderate Maryland Governor Larry Hogan, who says he doesn't believe Trump will or should run, has flirted with the idea. On December 19 he told Fox News he would decide in 2023, after his second term as governor ends.

That leaves former Vice President Mike Pence, with whom Trump clashed over his role in certifying the Electoral College results in 2020—as was Pence's duty as president of the Senate. Assuming Trump emerges relatively unscathed from the House's January 6 investigation, no GOP official or operative interviewed for this article believes Pence would stand a chance against Trump. "[Trump's] base is too big and too loyal, and doesn't much like Pence," Atlanta-based pollster Robert Cahaly of the Trafalgar Group tells *Newsweek*.

Democrats, for their part, are hoping and praying for a Trump run that clears the GOP field and leaves him the nominee again. No one revs up the Democratic base, and drives away independents or moderate Republicans, quite like Trump. "I get down on my knees every night praying for [another Trump run]," says David de la Fuente, a senior political analyst at Third Way, a Washington-based Democratic consulting firm.

But recent polling has been poking holes in the theory that a rematch in 2024 would go the same way as did 2020. An Emerson College poll released in November had Trump beating Biden, and a subsequent *Wall Street Journal* poll had Biden up just one point. In the near term, a CNBC poll released December 10 showed the GOP 10 points ahead of Democrats in a generic midterm ballot, the largest GOP lead in the 20-year history of that poll. If Republicans gain control of either the House or Senate in the midterms, it would bring Biden's agenda to a halt, which could make it harder for him to make his case to voters for a second term.

Still, even among Democrats despondent about the party's current standing, the prospect of Trump 2.0 puts a spring in their step. As Jake Rubenstein, a former adviser to the McAuliffe for Governor campaign puts it, "we'd win every state we won in 2020. Yes he [Biden] will be older then, but he still won't be Donald Trump, and that's what matters."

Precisely that issue nags at a lot of Republicans. For now, the political winds are at their backs, and they are at gale force. Republicans believe the midterms next year will be a blowout in their favor, with the White House sitting there for the taking just two years later. Are they really going to nominate the one man many fear could lose in 2024 because he can't stop obsessing about losing in 2020? Then again, can they afford not to? N

Trump is STIRRING UP TROUBLE for many establishment Republican candidates by endorsing rivals who are more "MAGA-friendly."

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES/GETTY

CAST OF GOP CHARACTERS
1. Former VP Mike Pence is unlikely to run against Trump in 2024. 2. Trump is backing Steve Carra, a state representative, for Congress in Michigan. 3. Virginia Governor Glenn Youngkin did not campaign with Trump. 4. Florida Governor Ron DeSantis is a possible 2024 frontrunner. 5. Georgia Governor Brian Kemp has earned Trump's wrath. 6. Another Trump-backed candidate: Kari Lake, running for governor in Arizona. 7. Former Senator David Perdue is running against Kemp in Georgia. 8. Former New Jersey Governor Chris Christie is likely to throw his hat in the ring for the GOP nomination in 2024. Above: Trump, at rest.

THE ARMED UPRISING OF 2024

A growing number of **RADICALIZED REPUBLICANS** are willing to grab their guns if the next presidential election doesn't go their way

BY DAVID H. FREEDMAN

ILLUSTRATION *by* ALEX FINE

MIKE “WOMPUS” NIEZNANY is a 73-year-old Vietnam veteran who walks with a cane from the combat wounds he received during his service. That disability doesn’t keep Nieznany from making a living selling custom motorcycle luggage racks from his home in Gainesville, Georgia. Neither will it slow him down when it’s time to visit Washington, D.C.—heavily armed and ready to do his part in overthrowing the U.S. government.

Millions of fellow would-be insurrectionists will be there, too, Nieznany says, “a ticking time-bomb” targeting the Capitol. “There are lots of fully armed people wondering what’s happening to this country,” he says. “Are we going to let Biden keep destroying it? Or do we need to get rid of him? We’re only going to take so much before we fight back.” The 2024 election, he adds, may well be the trigger.

Nieznany is no loner. His political comments on the social-media site Quora received 44,000 views in the first two weeks of November and more than 4 million overall. He is one of many rank-and-file Republicans who own guns and in recent months have talked openly of the need to take down—by force, if necessary—a federal government they see as illegitimate, overreaching and corrosive to American freedom.

The phenomenon goes well beyond the growth of militias, which have been a feature of American life at least since the Ku Klux Klan rose to power after the Civil War. Groups like the Proud Boys and the Oath Keepers, which took part in the January 6th riot at the Capitol and may have played organizational roles, have grown in membership. Law enforcement has long tracked and often infiltrated these groups. What Nieznany represents is something else entirely: a much larger and more diffuse movement of more-or-less ordinary people, stoked by misinformation, knitted together by social media and well-armed. In 2020, 17 million Americans bought 40 million guns and in 2021 were on track to add another 20 million. If historical trends hold, the buyers will be overwhelmingly white, Republican and southern or rural.

America’s massive and mostly Republican gun-rights movement dovetails with a growing belief among many Republicans that the federal government is an illegitimate tyranny that must be overthrown by any means necessary. That combustible formula raises the threat of armed, large-scale attacks around the 2024 presidential election—attacks that could

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FROM TOP: JOHN LAMPARSKI/GETTY; NATHAN HOWARD/GETTY; SPENCER PLATT/GETTY

'SHALL NOT BE INFRINGED' Right-wing militas are part of a long history in the U.S. Top to bottom: A member of the Proud Boys; a Defeat the Steal rally in Oregon; and a rally in Georgia of the neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement.

make the January 6 insurrection look like a toothless stunt by comparison. "The idea that people would take up arms against an American election has gone from completely farfetched to something we have to start planning for and preparing for," says University of California, Los Angeles law professor Adam Winkler, an expert on gun policy and constitutional law.

Both Democrats and Republicans are rapidly losing faith in the integrity of U.S. elections. Democrats worry that voter suppression and election interference from Republican state officials will deny millions of Americans their say at the polling booths. A PBS NewsHour/NPR/Marist poll in early November reported that 55 percent of Democrats saw voter suppression as the biggest threat to U.S. elections. Republicans claim, contrary to the evidence, that Democrats have already manipulated vote counts through fraud to steal a presidential election. An October CNN poll found that more than three-quarters of Republicans falsely believe Joe Biden's 2020 election win was fraudulent.

According to the Constitution, Congress and the Supreme Court are supposed to settle those sorts of dueling claims. Given the growing intensity and polarization of political life, would either side accept a decision that handed a contested 2024 election result to the other?

Such a decision would more likely bring tens of millions of protesters and counterprotesters into the streets, especially around the U.S. Capitol and possibly many state capitols, plunging the country into chaos. Although many Democrats might be inclined to demonstrate, a larger percentage of Republican protesters would almost certainly be carrying guns. If the Supreme Court ruling, expected in mid-2022, on *New York State Rifle & Pistol Association v. Bruen* establishes an unrestricted right to carry a gun anywhere in the country, bringing firearms to the Capitol in Washington, D.C., could be perfectly legal. Says Winkler: "The Supreme Court may be close to issuing the ruling that leads to the overthrow of the U.S. government."

If armed violence erupts the 2024 elections, quelling it could fall to the U.S. military, which may be reluctant to take arms against U.S. citizens. In that case, the fate of the nation might well be decided by a simple fact: a big subset of one of the two parties has for years been systemically arming itself for this very reason.

"I hope it's just too crazy to happen here," says Erica De Bruin, an assistant professor of government at Hamilton College, who studies coups around the world. "But it's now in the realm of the plausible."

Enemy at the Gates

MANY REPUBLICANS ARE INCREASINGLY COMING TO see themselves less as citizens represented by the federal government, and more as tyrannized victims of that government. More than three-quarters of Republicans reported "low trust" in the federal government in a Grinnell College national poll in October; only a minority of Democrats agreed. From this point of view, peaceful elections will not save the day. More than two out of three Republicans think democracy is under attack, according to the Grinnell poll, which echoes the results of a CNN poll in September. Half as many Democrats say the same.

Mainstream news publications are filled with howls of protest over political outrages by Republican

"I HOPE IT'S JUST TOO CRAZY TO HAPPEN HERE. BUT IT'S NOW IN THE REALM OF THE PLAUSIBLE."

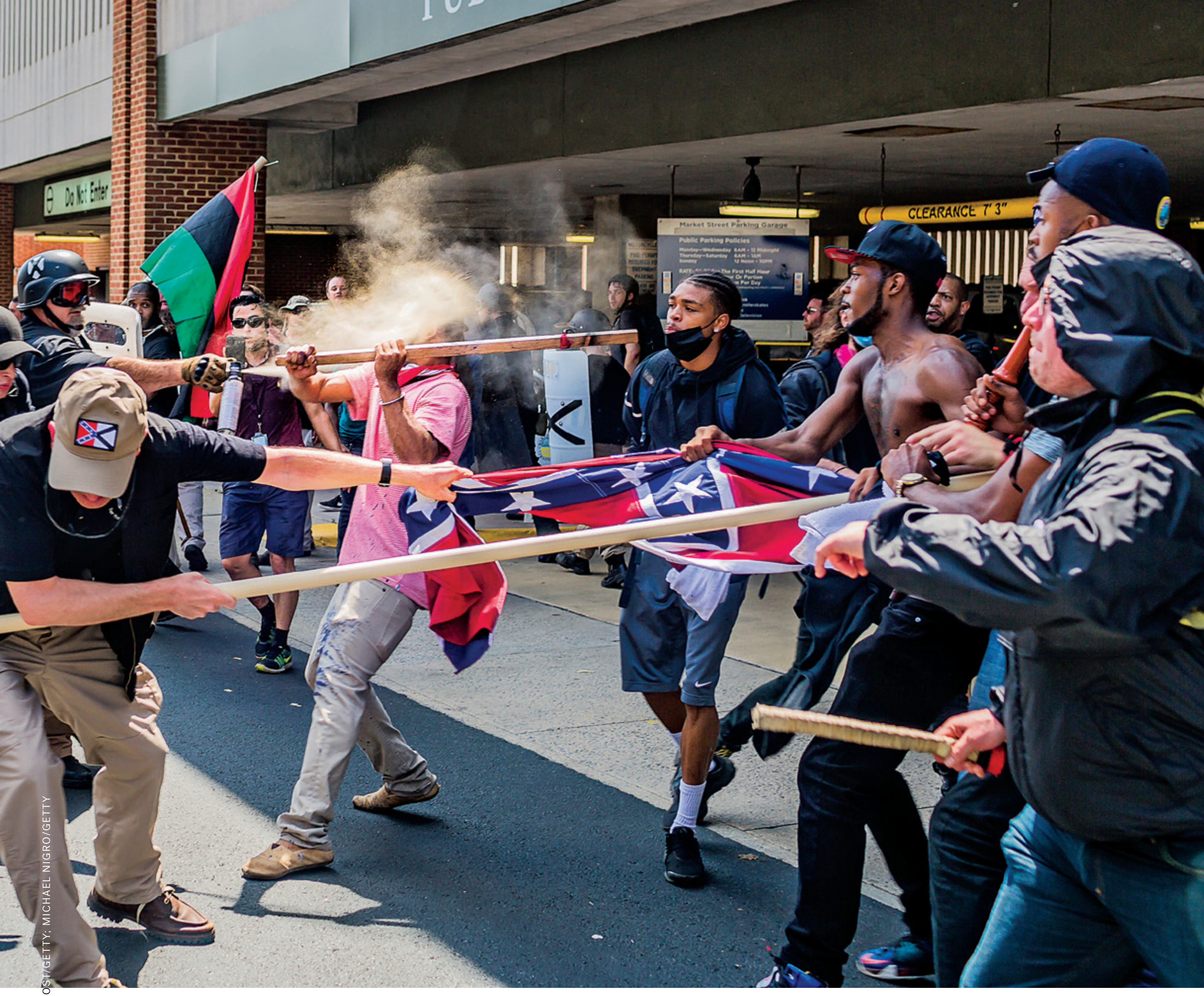
“WE’RE ONLY GOING TO TAKE SO MUCH BEFORE WE FIGHT BACK.”

leaders, who are reflecting the beliefs of the party mainstream. But the small newspapers in the rural, red-state areas that are the core of the Republican party’s rank and file are giving voice to a simpler picture: Politics are dead; it’s time to fight. “Wake up America!” reads a September opinion piece excoriating Democrats in *The Gaston Gazette,* based in Gastonia, North Carolina. “The enemy is at our gates, God willing it is not too late to turn back the rushing tide of this dark regime.” It goes on to quote Thomas Paine’s exhortation to colonists to take up arms against the British. “We are in a civil war,” a letter published in September in *The New Mexico Sun* likewise warns Republicans, “between the traditional Americans and those who want to impose socialism in this country and thus obtain complete government control of its citizens.”

Evidence that a significant portion of Republicans are increasingly likely to resort to violence against the government and political opponents is growing. More than 100 violent threats, many of them death threats, were leveled at poll workers and election officials in battleground states in 2020, according to an investigation by Reuters published in September—all those threat-makers whom Reuters could contact identified as Trump supporters. In October 2020, 13 men were charged with plotting to kidnap Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer, a Democrat; all of them were aligned with the political right. Nearly a third of Republicans agree that “true American patriots may have to resort to violence in order to save our country,” according to a September poll conducted by the Public Religion Research Institute, a nonpartisan group. That’s three times as many as the number of Democrats who felt the same way.

Guns are becoming an essential part of the equation. “Americans are increasingly wielding guns in public spaces, roused by persons they politically oppose or public decisions with which they disagree,” concludes an August article in the *Northwestern University Law Review.* Guns were plentiful when

DONT TREAD ON M



ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT
Evidence that many Republicans are more likely to resort to violence against the government is growing. Left to right: The Boogaloo Boys at the Michigan state capitol in 2020; Governor Gretchen Whitmer; and street fighting in Charlottesville, Virginia on August 12, 2017.

FROM LEFT: SETH HERALD/GETTY; BRITTANY GREESON/THE WASHINGTON POST/GETTY; MICHAEL NIGRO/GETTY

hundreds of anti-COVID-precaution protesters gathered at the Michigan State Capitol in May 2020. Some of the armed protesters tried to enter the Capitol chamber.

Those who carry arms to a political protest may in theory have peaceful intentions, but there's plenty of reason to think otherwise. An October study from Everytown for Gun Safety and the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) looked at 560 protests involving armed participants over an 18-month period through mid-2021, and found that a sixth of them turned violent, and some involved fatalities.

One indication of how far Republicans may be willing to go in violently opposing the government is their sanguine reaction to the January 6 insurrection at the U.S. Capitol. Republicans by and large see no problem with a mob of hundreds swarming and forcing their way into the seat of American government. Half of Republicans said that the mob was "defending freedom," according to a CBS/YouGov poll taken just after the insurrection. Today two-thirds of Republicans have come to deny that it was an attack at all, according to an October survey by Quinnipiac University. "There's been little accountability for that insurrection," says UCLA's Winkler. "The right-wing rhetoric has only grown worse since then."

Most Republican leaders are circumspect when it comes to supporting violence against the government, but not all. Former Milwaukee County Sheriff David Clarke, a controversial character who remains popular among many Republicans, reportedly told an enthusiastic gathering of Trump supporters in October that if and when a "serious" insurrection springs up, "there's very little you're going to be able to do about it."

Georgia Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene, another prominent Republican popular with the rank and file, opined that the January 6 insurrectionists were simply doing what the Declaration of Independence tells true patriots to do, in that they were trying to "overthrow tyrants." The real threat to democracy, she added, are Black Lives Matter protesters and Democratic "Marxist-communist" agents. Greene and Representative Madison Cawthorn, a Republican from North Carolina, have referred to some of the insurrectionists as "political prisoners."

Trump himself, of course, has nurtured a constant undercurrent of violence among his supporters from the beginning of his first presidential campaign. In 2016 he publicly stated he could shoot someone in the street without losing any of his political support, and he went on to encourage attendees at his rallies to assault protesters and journalists. When demonstrators at a rally in Miami were being dragged away, Trump warned that next time "I'll be a little more violent." At a 2016 rally in Las Vegas, he openly complained to the crowd that security wasn't being rough enough on a protester they were removing. "I'd like to punch him in the face, I'll tell you," he said.

Today Trump openly declares the January 6 rioters to be "great people." In October, he suggested that Republicans might not want to bother to vote in the 2022 or 2024 elections because of their concerns over fraud in the 2020 election. At the same time, he declared that he would achieve an "even more glorious victory in November of 2024." The notion that Republicans could turn their backs on voting booths while sweeping Trump to glory only makes sense if Trump envisions a path to taking power that doesn't require votes.

Republicans approve of that sort of talk. The October Quinnipiac poll found that while 94 percent of Democrats insist Trump is undermining democracy, 85 percent of Republicans say he's protecting it.

Where the Guns Are

IN HIS ACCLAIMED HISTORY OF THE EARLY DAYS OF the American Revolution, *The British Are Coming,* author Rick Atkinson explains one major reason why America became the first British colony to succeed in winning freedom, where others had failed. "Unlike the Irish and other subjugated peoples," he writes, "the Americans were heavily armed." Muskets, he points out, were "as common as kettles" among the colonists, and American riflemen were among the world's finest marksmen. That possession of and skill with guns, combined with the colonists' deep passion for ridding themselves of what they saw as government tyranny, would help carry the day against otherwise long odds.

Today the many Republicans who have convinced themselves that they, too, must cast off a tyrannical government have plenty of guns. Americans own about 400 million guns, according to the Switzerland-based Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva. (The U.S. government doesn't track gun ownership.) The vast majority of those guns belong to Republicans. Gallup found that half of all Republicans own guns, nearly three times the rate of gun ownership as among Democrats. Gun owners are overwhelmingly male and white and are more likely to live in the rural south than anywhere else. Those demographics mesh neatly with the hard-core segment of the Republican party.

Gun sales have spiked wildly in the past two years. About 17 million people, or more than six percent of the population, bought 40 million guns in 2020 alone, according to research from Harvard and Northeastern Universities. Sales for 2021 are on track to add another 20 million to the total, according to gun-industry research firm Small Arms Analytics & Forecasting.

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SIGSAU
SIGNIFICANT
OTICE

ARMING UP: Top to bottom: Shoppers at Blue Ridge Arsenal in Chantilly, Virginia; target practice with AR-15 semi-automatic rifles; and Marjorie Taylor Greene.

FROM TOP: SAMUEL CORUM/GETTY; CHANDAN KHANNA/AFP/GETTY; TOM WILLIAMS/CQ-ROLL CALL/GETTY

DEALER
The Choice of Champions
SPRINGFIELD ARMORY
GLOCK
BERETTA
SIG SAUER
Keep Calm and Carry On

While there's data showing that Democrats are stepping up their modest share of the gun buying, recent history suggests that the great majority of these guns are going to Republicans. According to a 2017 Pew Research Center survey, Republicans and Republican-leaning independents were more than twice as likely to own a gun as their Democratic counterparts.

Former Iowa Representative Steve King, long known as someone unafraid to say out loud what many other Republicans are thinking, is confident that his party is better armed. "Folks keep talking about another civil war," he posted to Facebook in 2019. "One side has about 8 trillion bullets...Wonder who would win?"

The impulse for violent insurrection among Republicans is getting some of its energy from the mostly Republican gun-rights movement, and vice versa. That's a relatively new phenomenon. The right to own guns was long a passionate cause of conservatives, without ever posing much apparent threat to democracy. But that's changing fast.

In 2000, 60 percent of gun owners cited hunting as the reason they bought guns, according to a Gallup poll. Many of the rest listed "sport," which generally means target shooting. But by 2016, 63 percent were saying they bought guns for self-defense. That shift was brought on by growing paranoia about street crime and mob violence, a fear constantly pumped up on Fox and other right-wing media, which have long been conjuring up the notion that urban gangs and other troublemakers are increasingly running rampant through suburbs and beyond.

Over the past four years those fears have been blurring into anti-government, pro-Trump, and in some cases white-supremacist movements. "We've seen the flourishing of a different view of gun rights, one that focuses on the necessity of owning guns in order to fight a tyrannical government,"

"IF YOU'RE WAITING TO BUY THE FIREARM YOU'VE BEEN EYEING FOR A WHILE, NOW IS THE TIME. DON'T WAIT UNTIL THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION."

“THE IDEA THAT PEOPLE WOULD TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST COMPLETELY FARFETCHED TO SOMETHING

IMAGES OF JANUARY 6: Donald Trump gave a speech at the Ellipse to an angry crowd of citizens, who marched to the U.S. Capitol building, stormed the barricades,

TRUMP
2020
KEEP AMERICA GREAT
BIDEN

**AN AMERICAN ELECTION HAS GONE FROM
WE HAVE TO START PLANNING FOR AND PREPARING FOR.”**

TRUMP
IS MY
PRESIDENT

broke windows and went inside. Lawmakers huddled in chambers protected by a too-small contingent of U.S. Capitol Police, awaiting fortifications that took hours to arrive.

says Winkler. “The promotion of that idea has made it all the more likely that some people will come to see the government as a tyrannical one that needs to be overthrown.” The resulting gun-rights-driven, anti-deep-state radicalism echoes throughout Republican-heavy social media and other communications channels.

The gun industry didn’t create that conflation of gun ownership and an imminent patriotic armed uprising, but it has amplified it. A 2020 article on the website of AZ Big Media, Arizona’s largest business-news publisher, advised readers this way: “If you’re waiting to buy the firearm you’ve been eyeing for a while, now is the time. Don’t wait until the presidential election. We don’t know what’s going to happen, but regardless of who is elected into office, the chaos and violence are likely to grow larger.”

Palmetto State Armory, a gun-parts manufacturer and gun retailer out of Columbia, South Carolina, puts it this way on their website: “Our mission is to maximize freedom, not our profits. We want to sell as many AR-15 and AK-47 rifles as we can and put them into common use in America today,” adding that doing so “safeguards the rights of the people against tyranny.” A 2019 Drew University study noted that one out of four of gun manufacturers’ most-viewed YouTube videos invoked patriotism. “There’s a commercial interest feeding that sense of needing guns to defend against the government,” says Risa Brooks, a political scientist at Marquette University.

The National Rifle Association played a big role in pumping up the “own guns to protect America from leftist tyranny” theme. “If the violent left brings their terror to our communities, our neighborhoods, or into our homes, they will be met with

“WE NEED A CIVIL WAR.”

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: TAYFUN COSKUN/GETTY; NATHAN HOWARD/GETTY; JABIN BOTSFORD/GETTY

the resolve and the strength and the full force of American freedom in the hands of the American people," said NRA CEO Wayne LaPierre in 2017. That same year, an NRA spokesperson railed against Trump's opponents, adding: "The only way we stop this, the only way we save our country and our freedom, is to fight this violence of lies with the clenched fist of truth." There wasn't much question about what that fist would be clenching.

The NRA also put out the notion that gun-control policies enacted by Nazis and aimed at Jews were a critical enabling element of the Holocaust. That claim has been thoroughly debunked by historians, but Ben Carson, Trump's secretary of housing and urban development, publicly tied gun control to the Holocaust. Texas Senator Ted Cruz has also explicitly linked gun rights to fending off federal menace, stating that guns "serve as the ultimate check against governmental tyranny." Trump himself hinted at the darkest of connections between gun ownership and taking down a Democrat-led government, proposing during his first presidential campaign that the "Second Amendment people" might be able to stop Hillary Clinton if she won.

How It Might Go Down

WHAT MIGHT LEAD TO LARGE-SCALE ARMED THREAT or even violence around the 2024 elections? There may be only one narrow path to avoiding it: A comfortable, incontestable win by Trump, assuming he's the Republican candidate. Democrats might despair at the loss, but it's not likely that they will go into mass protests against what could be seen as a legitimate election win.

But if Trump loses, by any margin, and is unable to overturn the results through legal or political means, it seems likely Republicans will declare the election fraudulent. In 2020, the conviction—against all evidence—that Trump had the presidency stolen from him brought an insurrectionist mob to the U.S. Capitol. The mob was mostly unarmed, undoubtedly thanks to Washington, D.C.'s strict gun-control laws.

In 2024, that sort of mob, which will have been fed for four years on false claims of a "Big Steal" and exhortations to fight back against tyranny, will likely be far, far larger. If gun-control laws are weakened by the Supreme Court, they will also likely be heavily armed. In addition to Washington, D.C., the ACLED report found that Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Oregon face the largest risk of armed uprisings in contested elections, followed by North Carolina, Texas, Virginia, California and New Mexico. But shortly after the January 6 insurrection, the FBI warned that all 50 state capitols were at risk. "There has been a recent and worrisome effort to frame showing up with guns as an appropriate way to challenge an election result you don't like," says Marquette's Brooks.

If Trump wins, but by a small margin that Democrats can attribute to Republican laws and tactics aimed at suppressing Democratic votes, massive protests around the country are inevitable. Democrats won't have to stretch their imaginations to make that claim: In 2021, 43 states proposed more than 250 laws limiting voting access. Georgia slashed the number of ballot boxes, a practice almost always aimed at communities with high percentages of minority residents. Iowa closed down most early voting. Arkansas upped the requirement for voter ID. And Utah made it easier to selectively purge voters from its lists.

If Trump loses on votes, but the loss is overturned by the actions of partisan state election officials,

GIRDING FOR BATTLE Texas Senator Ted Cruz (above) has explicitly linked gun rights to fending off the feds, stating that guns "serve as the ultimate check against governmental tyranny." This page, top: Extremists on the right and left clash in Portland, Oregon, on August 22, 2021. Opposite page: Kyle Rittenhouse, in the center, during clashes on the third day of protests over the shooting of Jacob Blake by police in Kenosha, Wisconsin.

PREVIOUS SPREAD (L TO R): BILL CLARK/CQ-ROLL CALL/GETTY; SPENCER PLATT/GETTY; CHERISS MAY/GETTY; KENT NISHIMURA/LOS ANGELES TIMES/GETTY; LEV RADIN/GETTY; DREW ANGERER/GETTY; MOSTAFA BASSIM/GETTY; TASOS KATOPODIS/GETTY; WIN MCNAMEE/GETTY (2); JON CHERRY/GETTY; PROBAL RASHID/GETTY

FROM TOP: HAL GARB/AFP/GETTY; ANNA MONEYMAKER/THE NEW YORK TIMES/GETTY; SARAH SILBIGER/BLOOMBERG/GETTY

legislatures or governors in key battleground states, and that reversal is protected by a Republican Congress or the Supreme Court, protests are again inevitable. And again, that sort of reversal is far from implausible: There are 23 states where Republicans control both the legislature and the governorship, including several of the battleground states. In 2022 Republicans stand to gain control of three more key states—Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

Any state controlled by one party is in a good position to try to overturn an election vote, as Trump and many Republicans urged state officials to do in 2020. "We've seen a trend of Republican governors and legislatures appointing party officials more willing to claim voter fraud, and giving themselves more power to undermine elections at a local level," says Hamilton College's De Bruin. For these and other reasons, America has been steadily dropping on the widely cited Freedom in the World ranking of countries by how democratic they are. The U.S. has fallen from the company of large, Western European countries to end up today alongside Ghana and Mongolia.

Whatever the circumstances that might bring on large-scale protests from Democrats in 2024, their presence in the streets could bring out armed Republican counterprotesters bent on protecting Trump's nominal win and, in their minds, defending democracy against left-wing mobs. "It's a fair concern that If Trump called on them to come out and suppress the mobs, they might respond," says Lindsay Cohn, associate professor of national security affairs at the U.S. Naval War College.

Nieznany, the Vietnam vet, insists that if Democratic protests include any violence, as was the case with several Black Lives Matter protests in 2020 in mostly isolated instances, then right-wing counterprotesters will be justified in shooting. "Rocks, bottles and bricks can kill you as fast as a bullet will," he says. That's the sort of logic that in August 2020 brought Kyle Rittenhouse and his AR-15-style rifle to a Black Lives Matter protest in Kenosha, Wisconsin, where he shot three protesters, killing two, claiming self-defense. A jury acquitted him of all charges.

Based on their actions at protests in recent years, police forces can be counted on for a strong response—against the Democratic protesters, that is. The ACLED found that the police used force in Black Lives Matter protests more than half the time but only a third of the time at right-wing demonstrations. In any case, few police forces are prepared to effectively come to grips with tens of thousands of armed protesters.

Enter the Military

IF POLICE CAN'T OR WON'T DEAL WITH AN ARMED uprising, the last hope for a peaceful resolution would probably be the National Guard and military. Only the governor can call out the National Guard in a state, and only the president can deploy the military. To send in the military to quell disturbances on U.S. soil, the president must invoke the Insurrection Act, last used in 1992 by then-President George H. W. Bush to help restore order during the Los Angeles riots.

Joe Biden would likely still be president at the initiation of election-related violence, so if the National Guard were unable to quiet things down in one or more states—or if a governor refused to call in the Guard—it would fall squarely on Biden's shoulders to make that call. He wouldn't need any state government cooperation to do it. "It would be an entirely legitimate role for the American military in those

“THE MILITARY TAKES AN OATH TO THE CONSTITUTION, NOT TO A PARTICULAR PRESIDENT.”

circumstances,” says Kori Schake, director of foreign and defense policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute.

The National Guard or military would almost certainly prevail in shutting down the worst of the violence and protecting the government. But two key questions arise: Would military leadership accept Biden’s orders to deploy against an armed uprising? And if it did, would the rank and file follow their commanders’ orders to take up arms against fellow Americans whose motivations might resonate with many of their own?

The military leadership still feels chastened by the outcry after General Mark Milley, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, accompanied Trump to a photo op across a Lafayette Square forcibly cleared of peaceful protesters in June 2020, says Brooks. “They’re going to be reluctant to get involved,” she says. “The military takes an oath to the Constitution, not to a particular president.” Biden, too, is likely to see calling in the military as a last resort, she adds. But if the situation is dire, and Biden seems justified in making the call, the leadership will comply, whatever their misgivings, she says.

As for the possibility that the Guard or military rank and file might refuse to follow orders to take up arms against armed Trump supporters, the Naval War College’s Cohn deems it unlikely. “There isn’t a ton of evidence that the rank and file are solidly behind Trump,” she says. “But whatever their beliefs, they’re highly professional. No more than a tiny percentage would refuse.”

She points out that Trump worked hard to align himself with the rank and file, even while distancing himself from military leadership. And yet there was little sign of overt support from the rank and file when Trump was trying to whip up mobs in January to support his baseless claims of election fraud—even though former Trump National Security Advisor and retired Army General Michael Flynn was at the same time openly calling for the military to take control of the government.

Absent a strong response from some combination of police, National Guard and military, it’s easy to see how Republicans would be in a position to essentially take control of the country simply by virtue of their massive arsenal. “Both sides might be equally convinced of the illegitimacy of the other’s actions,” says Winkler. “What’s asymmetric is the capability to inflict violence.”

Let’s hope it doesn’t come to that, and that there’s a relatively peaceful resolution to what’s likely to be a contentious, hotly disputed election. But that result isn’t assured. And even if any conflict ends quietly before it gets too far, experiencing a near-miss might leave our already fragile democracy more weakened and vulnerable. It’s hard to say what it would take to repair it.

Nieznany may speak for millions when he insists it’s too late. “There are too many of us ready to give our lives to take the country back,” he says. “We need a civil war.” N

LAST BULWARK The military would almost certainly prevail in shutting down post-election violence, but would they take up arms against Americans? Top to bottom: National Guardsmen during the Los Angeles riots in 1992; General Mark Milley, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff; and members of the National Guard outside of the U.S. Capitol building on January 13, 2021.

Skiing with Heroes
BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA
"The first poster I ever owned as a kid was a shot of Scot Schmidt. I watched all his films and even modeled my ski turn after his," Chin recalls about his childhood hero, now-friend Schmidt, who he says has the "the most distinctive and beautiful turns on the planet." Chin captures Schmidt as he drops into a steep slope at Island Lake Lodge. *(See #1 on following spread)*

UNCHARTED

Jimmy Chin's Photos From the Edge

TOP RIGHT: TASOS KATOPODIS/GETTY

SCREAM IS BACK
Campbell doesn't watch horror films, but hopes you will. » P.48

FROM SKIING DOWN EVEREST to climbing up Shark's Fin on Mount Meru in the Himalaya, Jimmy Chin is a real-life superhero tackling feats no one has done before. But surprisingly, this extreme mountain sports photographer, Oscar-winning film director and world-class mountaineer doesn't consider scaling one of the world's tallest granite walls the greatest risk he ever took. Rather, it was a choice in his early 20s—"committing to the dream I had, moving to Yosemite and living in a car," Chin tells *Newsweek* about his decision to follow this dream of climbing mountains.

"As my friend and mentor, Jon Krakauer, once said to me, 'There are two great risks in life, risking too much, and risking too little.' There is maybe a perception that climbing was what I always wanted to do and the decision was really clear for me. But it was followed by years of doubt."

Conquering that doubt, following his dream to Yosemite and living out of the back of his blue Subaru Loyale for six years surely paid off. Chin is now not only one of the greatest climbers in the world, but he's also captured some of the greatest human physical triumphs in history.

Chin's life has been about the confluence of high stakes and human potential, and not only his own. He's hung on the edge of the world's most famous rock wall, monolith El Capitán with his camera to capture Alex Honnold's heart-racing 3,000-foot climb without a rope or safety equipment of any kind. *Free Solo*—the second documentary he directed along with his filmmaking partner and wife Elizabeth Chai Vasarhelyi (*Meru* in 2015 was the first, and how they fell in love)—won an Oscar in 2019. *The Rescue,* the latest documentary the two made about the 2018 Thai soccer team cave rescue and its unlikely heroes, a group of cave-diving hobbyists, is already capturing Oscar buzz as well.

The photographer-director-climber goes where few can follow, but his new anthology *There and Back: Photographs from the Edge* gives us an exclusive peek into his world as he showcases over 20 years of his death-defying expeditions on all seven continents. Your heart will beat a little faster just looking at these larger-than-life images from icy peaks in Antarctica's Queen Maud Land to the world's tallest sandstone towers in the southern Sahara Desert. —*Kathleen Rellihan*

Photographs by JIMMY CHIN

01

Skiing with Heroes

BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA

(See previous spread)

02

Filming *Free Solo*

EL CAPITÁN, CALIFORNIA

Alex Honnold is the first person to reach the top of Yosemite's 3,000-foot El Capitán wall without ropes or safety equipment. Chin and his filmmaker wife Elizabeth Chai Vasarhelyi captured Honnold's risky attempt to conquer the world's most famous rock climbing stunt with heart-pounding visceral suspense in *Free Solo*, their Oscar-winning documentary.

03

Catching Phantom BASE Jumpers

YOSEMITE VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

"Yosemite Valley has influenced my life and career more than any landscape in the world," Chin writes in *There and Back*. Here, he captures BASE jumpers at dusk. Since this is illegal in Yosemite National Park, flights are often made at first or last light to avoid detection, he explains.

04

Knowing When to Retreat

PATAGONIA, ARGENTINA

In December 2001, Brady Robinson and Chin attempted to climb the Compressor Route on Cerro Torre in Patagonia. Dangerous winds and an impending storm forced them to turn back, but not before spending a night shivering in an icy cave and rappelling down a glacier with the wind swimming them along the face.

06

Climbing the Hand of Fatima

MALI

"I wanted to make images that captured the essence of the desert and the people who inhabited it. I also hoped to make pictures no one had ever seen before," writes Chin about climbing the world's tallest freestanding sandstone towers in the southern Sahara.

05

Defanging the Ulvetanna

ANTARCTICA

"At −30°F, snow squealed under our crampons, and our eyes threatened to freeze shut if we blinked too slowly," Chin describes his epic expedition pioneering a new route up Ulvetanna (translated as wolf's tooth), a 9600-foot peak in Antarctica's Queen Maud Land, with mountaineer Conrad Anker (pictured).

08

Taking in the Sun on Meru

HIMALAYA, INDIA

Rock climber Renan Ozturk takes in the sun and the view after a −20 degree Fahrenheit night at a portaledge camp. “We only had an hour of direct sun every day. We never took its warmth for granted,” recalls Chin in *There and Back*. The first ascent of the “Shark’s Fin” route on Meru Peak in the Indian Himalaya is chronicled in *Meru*, the 2015 documentary film directed by Chin and Vasarhelyi.

The book’s cover shows Kami Sherpa and Mingma Sherpa on Mount Everest. Reprinted with permission from THERE AND BACK. Copyright © 2021 Jimmy Chin, Published by Ten Speed Press.

09

Skiing Everest with Kit DesLauriers

TIBET AND NEPAL (South Pillar route)

Kit DesLauriers is the first person to ski the Seven Summits—the tallest mountain on each continent—and Everest was the final one on her list. Kit, Jimmy and her husband Rob DesLauriers were the first Americans to ski from the summit of Everest, and the first ever to ski the South Pillar route. Chin writes, “we laughed about spending two months on the mountain to ski the worst run of our lives.”

10

Dropping Into Remote Worlds

KAMCHATKA PENINSULA, RUSSIA

Chin has captured extreme feats on remote stretches across the planet. Here, he photographs snowboarder Travis Rice as he moves through relentless wind on the far eastern edge of Russia while filming *The Fourth Phase*. Chin says Travis has defined the evolution of snowboarding with his grace and technical airs and multiple X Games gold medals.

07

Defying Gravity in the Ennedi Desert

REPUBLIC OF CHAD

First ascents in remote corners of the world are Chin’s wheelhouse. Here, he captures James Pearson and Mark Synnott climbing the first ascents of the dramatic sandstone towers, the Arch of Bashikele Africa. “Mark excels at finding new places to contend with gravity,” writes Chin.

PARTING SHOT

Neve Campbell

BEING PART OF AN ICONIC FILM FRANCHISE LIKE *SCREAM* COMES WITH its own unique set of experiences. Neve Campbell, who is back for the fifth installment of the film (in theaters January 14), has been through them all: "I was really surprised the first time I saw my face on someone's leg." Tattoos of her character Sidney Prescott aside, Campbell knows she's in a special position. "It's rare to have a movie be successful enough that anyone wants to go back to it 25 years later." But this iteration of *Scream* is bittersweet: The director of the first four films, Wes Craven, died in 2015. "We definitely felt his absence, but we felt his presence as well because [directors Matt Bettinelli-Olpin and Tyler Gillett] really did want to honor the movies and keep it in the vein of all the other ones," she says. Even though Campbell herself doesn't watch horror films ("I'm a little sensitive"), she "hopes people feel safe enough to go back to the theaters [for *Scream*]. She notes, "I think a big part is the joy of sitting with an audience and being scared together and laughing together."

"It's an honor to play someone who isn't a victim in this kind of genre."

What about this iteration inspired you to reprise your role?
I love playing Sidney Prescott. She's a badass, and she's an icon to a lot of people. It's an honor to have the opportunity as a woman to play someone who isn't a victim in this kind of genre.

How does this version excite new audiences?
In the same way that it excited young fans 25 years ago, this is still a great ride. It's terrifying, funny, well-written, well crafted, well-directed. It's a way to get away for two hours and just laugh and be scared, which I think we're all looking for right now.

How was reuniting with Courteney Cox and David Arquette?
It's been really fun. We mean a lot to each other. Like with family, there are only certain people who carry a story together. We carry this story together.

A big part of *Scream* is the humor, which is rare for a horror film. How important is the comedy?
Comedy is a huge part of these movies and the very reason that they're as successful as they are. I certainly am not great with horror movies, so I need that respite.

Is Halloween interesting for you?
Every Halloween, I open my door and there's Ghostface, which is always my surprise for them. It's my free costume. I'm just Sidney Prescott. *—H. Alan Scott*

GARETH CATTERMOLE/CONTOUR/GETTY

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